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## Content

	PAGE
<b>A Rustic View of War and Peace</b>	1
<b>The Re-education of the Adult</b> —	
I. <b>The Neurasthenic in War and Peace</b>	
Arthur J. Brock, M.D. (Edin.)	25
II. <b>The Convalescent as Artist-Craftsman</b>	
Henry Wilson, President of the Arts and Crafts Society	41
<b>The Principles of State Action in Reconstruction</b>	
Decauillon	44
<b>Emile Durkheim</b>	54
<b>Reconstruction Literature in France</b>	55
<b>The Doctrine of Civics</b>	60
<b>Reviews</b>	68

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## The Sociological Review.

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THE  
SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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A RUSTIC VIEW OF WAR AND PEACE.<sup>1</sup>

PROLOGUE.

It is possible to draw on a globe a map of the land surfaces so arranged that Great Britain is in the centre. (1). That is one of the ways in which the world is commonly presented to us. Some people read into it the Creator's intention as regards the British Empire. Another view of the world commonly presented to us is that there happened long ago events in Palestine which made that part of the earth its spiritual centre for all time to come. And if we really believe this, we act upon it and make pilgrimages to Jerusalem accordingly. Hence another kind of world-map may be drawn which has this Holy City at its centre. Possibly the Russian pilgrim maps are of this kind. Certainly the mediæval geographers so made their maps. One of the best preserved specimens is on the walls of Hereford Cathedral. (2).

Here then are two characteristic out-looks upon the world. According to the days when they are most emphasized we might call the one the weekday outlook, and the other the Sunday outlook. They represent respectively the view-points of the geographer and the humanist. Economist and politician see things mostly from the former angle, woman and poet from the latter. In life we alternate and mingle them. The south-east coast of England, for

1. The numbers in brackets throughout the text refer to illustrations enumerated in the Appendix. These illustrations exist in the form of lantern slides. They have been chosen and arranged to show objectively, the thesis presented subjectively in the text. These 94 illustrations make a cinematograph-like representation. It is hoped that reading-circles, clubs and societies given to social, economic and political discussion may see their way to participate in this scheme. Those intending to take part in the discussion following the lantern display could study this text beforehand. A condensed and simplified version of this text has been prepared for popular presentation. Type-written copies of this can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary of the Cities Committee. This version would be read as descriptive letterpress to the slides. Arrangements are being made for duplicating the lantern slides, and offering sets on loan or hire. Other illustrated lectures dealing similarly with the sociological aspects of current problems are under preparation. The next two lectures will be called respectively, "The drift to Revolution" and "Masters of our Fate."

instance, may be regarded as simply a piece of the national frontier marking us off from "the foreigner." Similarly for the opposite coasts of France, Belgium and Holland. But bring these two coasts into one map such as that of Mackinder's "Ferry Towns of



THE FERRY TOWNS (3).

the Narrow Seas." (3). Here you see two land surfaces almost touching at Calais-Dover, and there diverging a little, but yet running more or less parallel for a long distance. And every few miles on each side of the narrow isthmus there is a pair of Ferry Towns, between which runs a continuous passage of people and goods in every kind of intercourse. A new unity thus appears. The common regional life of the Ferry Towns on the two sides of the channel is a very real thing; and would count for more in the ordering of the world's affairs if we had fuller vision. And the way to get fuller vision is to humanize our outlooks.

Starting at one of the Ferry Towns on the English side, let us set out on foot for a journey of exploration across England and Wales, resolved to use alternatively the geographical and humanist eye. We progress physically by putting forward first one foot and then another. So, in the intellectual exploration of the visible world, we may advance by methodic alternation of our two outlooks.

#### RUSTIC LABOUR.

Our Ferry Town is also a fishing place. A vessel of the fishing fleet is perhaps the first thing to be seen. Next might follow a visit to the fish market. (4) We go to see the homes of the fisher folk, we note the kind of houses they live in, their quarter of the town, the character of its streets, the appearance of its public buildings (if any). We study as far as may be the family life and confirm by observation the common idea that the wives of fishermen are women of high individuality. We follow the bread-winner to the fishing boat, and from the study of Folk proceed to that of Work. The fishing boat is a workshop with a definite organisation of discoverable relationship to the family life on one

side, and on the other to the Place of work—i.e., the fishing grounds. In general terms, we are “out for” this, amongst other things, to see Labour not with a big L, but in flesh and blood, face to face and always on the spot.

Of the kind of man that the fishing occupation breeds you may know something by reflecting on the minesweeper's part in the war. Deeds combining more danger and less glory it would be hard to imagine. Yet these deeds are the daily task of great numbers of our fishermen. Word comes that submarines have sown the Channel with mines. All channel traffic is suspended. Five trawlers are sent out to sweep the fairway clear. All day they are at it, risking instantaneous and horrible death in a sea,

Jumbled and short and steep—  
Black in the hollows and bright where its breaking—  
Awkward water to sweep.

By evening the trawlers have done their perilous work. Back comes the signal “sweep completed in the fairway.” Thereupon is resumed that mighty procession of merchant ships which the war shows us as a continuing naval review carried out under fighting conditions. Then ensues a momentary touch of war's pomp and glory enhancing the trawler's life :

Dusk off the Foreland—the last light going  
And the traffic crowding through,  
And five damned trawlers, with their syrens blowing,  
Heading the whole review.

Omitting for the moment all else that we observe in the Ferry Town itself, let us pass on to the open country. The first rustic occupation to be seen is doubtless that of the market gardener. (5). The town itself is the gardener's market, so it is clear how the Place determines the Work; and for an example of work influencing Folk, we recall that almost all gardeners wear a look of tranquil sagacity; and we may connect that with the fact that the gardener stands almost, if not quite, at the head of the longevity table.

His rare combination of sanity and health issues from a nice balance of art and nature, of labour, thought and purpose. So it happens that his craft genuflexions have a certain spiritual value, of which the incomparable Kipling makes witty use in his exhortation to the amateur :

Oh, Adam was a gardener, and God who made him sees  
That half a proper gardener's work is done upon his knees,  
So when your work is finished, you can wash your hands and pray  
For the Glory of the Garden that it may not pass away !  
*And the Glory of the Garden it shall never pass away !*

Still wandering westwards, we come to fields where, perhaps, the farmers' teams are at work ploughing, sowing, reaping, according to the season of the year. (6). Without pausing on the broad

expanse of the English plain, we press on towards the foothills of the western rise. Here we come to a region of more typical valleys. We find ourselves in one that narrows sufficiently for us to see low hills on either side, and perhaps in the far distance up stream we catch a glimpse of higher hills towards the head waters. (7). Ascending the low slopes of the foot-hills, we shall come perhaps upon smaller peasant-like farmers, or crofters. Further up we may see flocks of grazing sheep. (8). Passing upwards towards the valley head, we might perchance observe droves of sheep moving from one pasture to another in charge of a mountain shepherd; for we are now in mid Wales. In the good shepherd as we see him tenderly bearing the wounded lamb, we recognise a perennial fount of idealism, rising direct from the wells of pastoral life. (9-10). Next we enter a region of bracken, heather and scrub, with here and there sparsely wooded bits of country. Here the only wayfarers likely to be met are the vigilant game-keeper, or some remote hill shepherd struggling back to his sheiling after foraging for sticks. (11).

We cross some pass of the higher mountains, preparatory to a descent to the west coast, steep and short compared with the long gradual ascent from the east. A little way down the western slope we might look back and see the higher peaks covered with snow, if the time be winter or spring. (12). Next we notice that the greater rainfall of the west stimulates and sustains a more luxuriant growth of timber. Under the urgent demands of war, lumber-men are everywhere busy felling and carting in these western woods. (13). Hereabouts, too, we might find ourselves in a region of slate quarrying, coal hewing, lead mining, or other work determined by the richer mineral strata of the western slopes. (14).

The general impression of our journey is doubtless above all one of delight in the beauties and varieties of scenery. Our outlooks on Folk and Work and our study of these in their inter-relationships to one another and to Place have on the whole been secondary to the scenic appeal. But the mood of analysis returns, and summing up our journey let us make what geographers call a section across the country. (15). It vividly shows the long, slow climb up to the Welsh mountains from the east coast, and the rapid run down on the west.



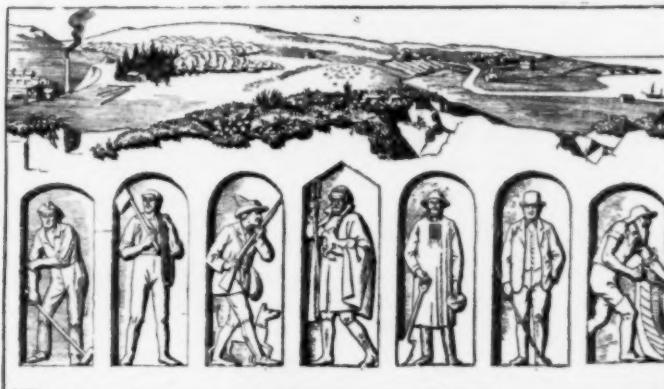
SECTION ACROSS WALES AND THE ENGLISH PLAIN (15).

Try now to adjust to this section, a generalised picture of the significant things we have seen from the alternating outlook of



VALLEY SECTION, WITH TYPICAL VEGETATION AND CHARACTERISTIC REGIONAL OCCUPATIONS (16).

geographer and humanist. (16)). Our picture is first that of fishermen with their boat and net; then gardener with his spade; peasant with his wheat and plough on the rich soils of the lower levels; next poorer peasant or crofter, with his oats and potatoes on the thin soil next to the permanent pasture; next shepherd, on this pasture. Then hunter on the moorland and in the deciduous woods; finally on the timbered and mineralized western slope, woodman and miner with their respective implements of occupation, the axe and the pick. Here, then, is the key diagram, the constructive formula of the Regional Survey. This is our "Valley Section" with its rustic types of Fisher, Peasant, Shepherd, Hunter, Woodman, Miner. (17). It is, of course, an idealized conception compounded from the many valleys we have traversed in our long journey from the North Sea to the Irish Channel. Its practical use is like that of other scientific units, *i.e.*, for comparison. To com-



THE NATURE OCCUPATIONS (17).

pare one actual valley with another, we set each side by side with the ideal "Valley Section," and note the points of similarity and difference. And we interpret our observations by alternate use of

two formulae. The geographer's formula is that *Place* determines *Work* and *Work* determines *Folk*. But the humanist observes that *Folk* may choose their own work and shape the place accordingly; hence his formula reverses the geographer's and reads *Folk*—*Work*—*Place*.

Our regional unit rests on two large claims. First, that it conforms to an actual tendency in the configuration and clothing of the earth's crust. Secondly, that its occupational types are at once natural and human. In a sense these six rustic types—Miner, Woodman, Hunter, Shepherd, Peasant, Fisher—are the long-sought missing links of evolution. They are the raw material of all social communities. They are the six human pieces on the chess board of nature. It is they who play the game of war and peace up and down the valley and out into the world. In other words, they are the prime-movers of civilization. So let us now consider those products of civilization which we have omitted so far from our survey, the villages, towns and cities.

#### THE COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

But first recall an object of even more frequent occurrence, that is the great country house. Wherever you see a high-lying piece of land, with a fine open vista to south and west and the shelter of wooded or higher land to the north and east, there, more often than not, you find the stately mansion and spacious park of some county family or nobleman. It may be a great castellated building surviving from some historic pile (18); or it may be a modern piece of architecture, designed for comfort inside and appearance outside. (19). Penetrate the entrance hall of one of the larger of these mansions, and you are impressed, not only with the sense of comfort, but even more with that of magnificence. (20). Trophies, flags, armour, pictures, statues on all sides add to the splendour of the scene. But may be the glory of the hall is in its oak-carved roof, whose timbers combine beauty with endurance (21). Walking out on to the terrace one is enchanted by the glowing beauty of the gardens in the foreground and the superb vista in the distance. (22-23). But the charm of the gardens draws you insistently back to enjoy their rich colouring and tranquil greenery. (24-26). On your return to the halls and galleries of the mansion, after these feasts of nature, the human voice of classic statues speaks with renewed appeal (26 a, b.)

Now it is clear we are in presence of a phenomenon entirely worthy of careful study, both by the weekday and the Sunday outlook. These country seats are each of them a veritable paradise of art and natural beauty. The inhabitants of this earthly Elysium, who are they? Well, let us follow them during one of their seasonal migrations to "town," as they call it, meaning of course

London. There they repeat, as far as may be, the outdoor equestrian life and the sylvan setting of their country home. In confirmation, pay a visit, at a suitable time of day, to Rotten Row, in Hyde Park. (27). But the narrow circumstances of town life entail a corresponding adaptation. The Olympian family may have to content itself with a town mansion which is but a single house in the side of a Square, designed, it is true, to look like the façade of a palace. (28). And for the great private park, there is but the modest substitute of a small collective park occupying the centre of the square. Yet within, these town mansions are made all glorious by works of art. The drawing-room, for instance, is a museum of treasures. (29-30). From the back windows of one of these superb chambers you look out on an exiguous space of perhaps only a few square yards, but it may be a gem of a garden. (31). Examine one or two of the historic pictures which adorn the drawing-room walls. (32). Here is a painting of the great Emperor Charles V., spending his leisure in the company of ministrant artists and musicians, who vie with each other in their efforts to please and gratify him. The scene is historic, but is it not also symbolic? For does not every single one of the heads of these favoured families find himself in the position of artistic privilege held by the Renaissance Prince? This picture, indeed, defines the historic status of our country gentlemen. They are renaissance princes all. Again, here is a famous picture of the Nine Muses dancing to the lyre of Apollo. (33). There are many interpretations of the Muses. One places them on a pinnacle above the Gods of Olympus. Another sees in them the consecration of combat and the garnishings of amorous adventure. It is the latter which is here adopted by the artist. He gives us a presentment in which the musical performance is for the benefit of Mars and Venus, in leisurely contemplation of the spectacle. This also is a social symptom. The sincerity of the artist is never to be doubted. He naturally (though not necessarily) imbibes the doctrine of life elaborated and maintained in old-established seats of learning and disseminated by schools of repute. Do not our ancient universities, and still more our historic Public Schools, elevate athletic prowess above the high aspirations of the mind and the deep desires of the heart? The corresponding conception of labour is easily deduced. It is the pre-ordained part of artisans to execute the plans conceived by genius for palaces of art and gardens of delight. And to perform the daily services needed for the maintenance of these Temples of the Beautiful is the privilege of labourers, attendants and domestics.

So much for the private life of these modern Olympians. Turn now to their public life. The Juniors cultivate the prestige of a "man-about-town." The Seniors are the political leaders of the com-

munity and the executive heads of the Government. Their leadership is signalized to the world by impressive edifices. For one example, take that of which the official title is Westminster Palace, commonly called the Houses of Parliament—(34)—and for another a single one of those recent piles of bureaucratic government which outrange in size the great palaces of the Renaissance. (35). Or again, you may find these Olympians in honorific and lucrative charge of old surviving institutions such as the Tower of London. And sometimes they play, expensively if not efficiently, at control over the scientific apparatus of technical institutions like the Mint and Trinity House. (36). There is a special quarter of the metropolis devoted to the activities of their public leadership. It is called Whitehall, and runs from the Nelson Monument to the Abbey. (37). Then when their brilliantly successful members pass from this mundane world, they are laid to rest in the most sacred spot of our land, and inside the Abbey you see their monuments crowding the chancel and north transept. (38).

Now who are these wondrous creatures whose private life is surrounded and enhanced by the delights of art and the glories of nature; and whose public life is so generously given to government and leadership? Can we relate them to our rustic types? Consider the rural occupations of these modern Olympians. (39—42). In their own part of the countryside they are preservers of game, and their main occupation is, in their own words, that of "sportsmen." This sport of theirs they pursue, not only at home, but in all parts of the world where game is to be found. And there is a regular sequence from the killing of small birds at home, to the pursuit of the great carnivora in the wilds of the earth. But the sequence that runs from sport to big game hunting does not stop there. There remains, by universal admission the noblest hunt—the hunt of man. Hence the culminating aim of these sportsmen is to be warriors. They are everywhere the officers of armies and navies; they man the diplomatic services whose standing principle it is to threaten war, as that of their Governments is to prepare war. The conditional assertion, "if you want peace," may be taken as the diplomatic version of what is vulgarly called "bluff." The great game of war thus emerges, as supreme occupation of that most developed form of hunter, the country gentleman. And Whitehall, we see, is like the god Janus, two-faced. The face that looks to Parliament, to the City and the manufacturing East End, says "Peace." The other looks to the pleasure park of St. James, and the monuments, palaces and mansions of the spending West End. It says "War." (43). Now deep in the heart of all the other rustic types is the sporting instinct, implanted there by countless generations of hunting ancestry before the rustic

types became differentiated. They are all of them, therefore, potential warriors, and readily accept the leadership of the country gentleman as the best practised man at this game. They submit to the preliminary drudgery of drill, some with more, others with less resistance. The peasant is the most docile of the rustic types, and so his mentality, as well as his numbers, make him the body of the modern conscript army. (44—45).

War is thus a wholesale reversion. But that means a renewal of primitive qualities as well as defects. The qualities are endurance, loyalty, simplicity, and sacrifice. These are the fine flowers of war in personal life; and with individuals so ennobled, there goes of course a corresponding transformation of social life. A community wholeheartedly at war is like a giant refreshed. It becomes capable of Titanic efforts undreamed in the "peace" of commercial societies. A community impassioned by war is like a poet in the ecstasy of composition. Its whole being is unified, intensified and raised in spiritual potential. A community through war may come to know and realize the meaning of the word enthusiasm. The indwelling god comes forth into active manifestation.

As for the defects, well, the social ones usually come more into evidence when the fighting is over. The individual defects, on the other hand, may best be studied while the war goes on, by observing the conduct of the aggressive party. A clue may be discovered in the kind of material reward which the aggressive combatant snatches when he gets the chance. To see this more clearly, invoke the aid of the caricaturist with his penetrating insight. Regard, for a moment, the German army and navy through the eyes of Raemaekers. After the successful invasion of neighbouring territory the fruits of war are gathered. Each elemental occupation seizes the particular reward which most appeals to its instinct and tradition. For instance, the peasant, with his instinct for property, gets the recompense of loot. (46). The miner has the joy of terrific explosions, and corresponding material destruction. (47). The shepherd cares not over much for property, and prefers his recompense in more human shape. As bandit he carries off men prisoners for one purpose and women for another. (48). Again, take the fisherman, he, very readily, is transformed into the pirate, and perhaps never was a time when the pirates had their day so fully as with these U. boats. (49). The impulse to loot stirs the young peasant into orgies of robbery. What of the old peasant left at home? Well his reward is to pay the bill when it is all over. (50).

How can we show simply and vividly the net result of this vast transformation of young peasants into robbers, of shepherds into bandits and ravishers, fishermen into pirates, miners into maniacs of destruction, and of old peasants into paupers? (51).

Mr. Mairet's presentation is symbolic but easily read. In front the War Lords, under mask of their heraldic birds and beasts, are enjoying their Valhalla of combat. In the background the villages, the towns and the cities are burning. The scene suggests as the main recompense of the War Lords themselves, the joy of



ARMAGEDDON, (A.D. 1914-16).

battle. But there are also more material rewards. The War Lords get the first choice of loot. Recall that from the Reformation to the French Revolution, there was almost continuous war in Europe. Think of the opportunities in two to three centuries of skilled and tasteful pillage from the accumulated wealth of monas-

tery, church, guildry, of city, town and village. You begin to realize how it is that everywhere the mansions of the European aristocracies are museums of historic art treasures.

Moreover, to the victors goes usually an addition of territory. Suppose we had access to a plan of one of the great territorial estates, with the dates when its different parts were acquired. We should see that it did not descend from Heaven, but that it grew like a working woman's patchwork quilt, bit added to bit, until one great whole was made. And this process is of the very nature of the hunter and his mode of life. An inevitable economic destiny implants in him the ideal of Expansion; which some would call not an ideal but a temptation. His ever-growing need of game drives him inexorably to push forward his boundaries, on pain of starvation. The growth of the country estate is thus but the civilized equivalent of the primitive hunter's instinct and tradition to extend the area of his food supply. On the plane of world policy that tradition is called Imperial Expansion. And when this imperial stage of political progress is reached, the hunting boundary emerges into dazzling light as the frontier. If you would discard the conventional and rhetorical use of the word frontier and grasp the underlying reality, look at Mr. Arnold Toynbee's map of the invading armies in the autumn of 1914. (52). That map suggests to the anthropologist a familiar picture. It is a picture of hungry tribesmen first war-dancing themselves into a frenzy of exaltation, then hurling themselves with all the terrifying clatter of metallic weapons, upon the neighbouring tribe, taken unawares if possible. What they are "out for" is, of course, removal of boundary marks, and extension of their hunting ground. Similarly all round the globe the anthropologist sees frontiers as, at bottom, the same thing. He sees them as a phenomenon imposed by the hunting and military culture upon the other social formations, who, if left to themselves, get on fairly well without frontiers. Reflect on the new system of frontiers which Imperial Germany is trying to set up in eastern regions, where previously but adjustable boundaries and limits existed.

Now it may seem that we have devoted an undue amount of space to this survey of the country house and its inmates. But is it more proportionately than the public and private doings of these modern Olympians occupy in the daily life of our community?

#### RUSTICS IN TOWN.

Clear in the background of Mr. Mairet's drawing is visible the Phoenix rising from its ashes. That resurrection of civic life suggests how inadequate has been our regional outlook on warfare. There are noble wars of defence, such as that of the Allies in Armageddon. Our analysis has but disclosed the foundations of

those ignoble wars of aggression, which have become the national industry of Prussia, and the occasional outbreak of some other peoples nearer home. What inspires men to the nobler war of defence is having something noble to defend in village, town and city. Just as the patricians close their ranks in defence of their beautiful homes and the revenues that maintain them, so all classes of the community unite for protection of the most cherished elements in public and private life. What these are we all know, but regarded from the regional outlook they gain in freshness.

Return to the urban observations of our journey, and supplement the rustic by the civic survey. To begin with, let us ask some simple questions. What happens to the rustic folk when they go to town? Well, do they not just continue the old activities adapted as far as may be to the new urban setting? In other words the rustic folk become "townsmen" just as their patrician fellows do. For instance, the shepherd and peasant settling in town send their daughters into spinning or weaving factories. (53-4). The miner may follow his coal truck to town, and become blacksmith, iron-smelter, forge-master, metallurgist. (55). The forester, with his skill in mechanical manipulation may be able, with ingenious experiments, to invent more complicated machines in the city. Sometimes miner and forester combine their urban aptitudes and talents. The stored wealth of rich peasants, called capital, is at their disposal. Multitudes of uprooted peasants called "cheap labour" are at their service. The resulting product is the Factory Town. (56). But it is in America that the perfect specimen of the Factory Town has appeared. To do justice to its monumental range of chimney stacks a triple picture is needed. The whole work of art is the creation of a complex personality, who, if not himself a miner, or an engineer, was a great organizer of miners and engineers. This factory town is called Homestead. (57).

We might go on tracing the rustic types into their urban variants in endless detail. But what we are seeking is a principle of transformation from rustic to civic, and from townsman to citizen. We may find a clue to this principle in the more simple life of the village, and the small country town. (58). Contemplate the quiet beauty of a representative English village. Its conspicuous feature is the gray spire or tower of a church, rising out of green foliage, and often running water in the foreground: surely one of the most delectable of sights, soothing to the mind, and haunting to the imagination. Notable also perhaps, is the local grammar school. (59). In many a Cotswold town and even village (if you march that way towards Wales), you will see a main street of old gabled houses, a pleasant green centrally situated, and much architecture of civic dignity and beauty. (60). The market hall is a fine

old building which adorns the place only less than church and even more than grammar school. As we observe all this, the sense of a new social unity, with new types of human activity pervades us. A deeper analysis than that of the simple rustic outlook is needed. For here, during centuries, even millenia, all the rustic types have mingled and fused into co-operative life of new and enriched potentiality. Watch the men, for instance, at work in the fields. (61). Watch them together in a village workshop, not yet a factory. Watch them in the streets and in their homes. You cannot but feel that here you have individuals, personalities, but who are also of the People. Thus arises a conception of the People, not as a mere proletariat, but as the body of a community which maintains itself by worthy and dignified labour of many kinds. Specialized off from this community of the People, but still members of it, are the parson and the schoolmaster, with their respective institutions of church and school, each a real functional element in the life of the People. Now suppose we generalise these types. Generalise the school master as the "Intellectual" and the parson as the "Emotional" of the community. To these add the "People" as the undifferentiated body of the community, and we have three types that are complex, quasi-civic, let us say, as opposed to the more simple rustic ones. But our tale of new types is incomplete. Sometimes the squire's house, instead of being a great mansion standing aloof in a vast park, is a modest home which fits into the framework of the town or village. (62). It is, in fact, but an enlarged house of the place; and its garden but a larger and finer garden, and its library the actual working room of the squire, who thus may be a genuine leader in the everyday life of the community. Let us generalise his role as that of "Chief." Here then is the fourth to complete our set of quasi-civic types, as they emerge in the village or small country town seen as an embryo city.

Our civic survey seeks out the People, Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals of a higher, more creative social situation. These are no longer townsmen. They have transformed and transcend that part. Combining they are able to establish the conditions of what Aristotle called "the good life." Thus they become citizens. But that noble rôle has its perils and temptations, with consequent risk of lapse and degradation. The study of the resulting defects and evils occupies no small part of that survey of the civic types which describes their avocations and activities, their public and private life; and above all tries to understand and interpret the city itself which is the living product of their interaction now and in the past.

The science of sociology was born when, in a moment of inspiration, Auguste Comte, the philosopher, saw the long record

of human history as a conflict and co-operation of these four social types—People, Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionalists. At about the same time, another Frenchman, Frédéric Le Play, a mining engineer and a great traveller, was revealing the importance of the rustic types for geography and economics. Long overdue is the problem of uniting these two standpoints by developing each to the stage where they combine and reinforce each other. That is the scientific purpose of the Regional Survey, at once rustic and civic. There is also a practical purpose which is Regional Service, rustic and civic, but with that we are not for the moment concerned.

#### THE MAKING OF CITIZENS.

With the foregoing clues let us pass now to the cities, and try to understand something, even of the great metropolis itself. Take your stand at any busy junction of cross roads, such as between the Bank of England and the Mansion House. (63). The impression of pedestrians and vehicles flitting hither and thither is much what you receive on looking at the movements of ants. The course of all these individuals seems utterly confused and meaningless. But each has his appointed destination and seeks and finds it regardless of the others. There is evidently a deeper order in the seeming chaos than appears on the surface. There must be something in the nature of the urban crowd governing its assembling and disappearing, something in the nature of laws. How far, for instance, are these individuals but rustics in disguise, urged and prompted by the old habits formed from many generations of rustic life? How far, again, can we apply our classification of People, Chiefs, Intellectuals, Emotionalists, and sort out from the crowd examples of these civic types?

As to the first question, we have already given a hint of the answer. As to the second, try the method of observation. Follow some of the workers to their homes. You will find yourself in a quarter of the city of which Lambeth may be taken as a type. A walk through the streets of Lambeth should be supplemented by viewing the town as it appears on the 25 inch Ordnance Map. (64). The general view thus presented is that of a network of railways and tramways with the interstices filled up by monotonous streets of mean dwellings. Whatever else it may be, Lambeth is clearly a town of the People, but one deteriorated by isolation from its complement of civic co-partners. Where are these? You will find some of them on the north side of the river. Cross by Westminster Bridge, walk through St. James' Park and the Green Park to Hyde Park Corner, and thence penetrate that mansion suburb called Mayfair. And to confirm the general impression look at Westminster on the 25 inch Ordnance Map. (65). It is a mingling of palaces and great houses built round the margins of

royal Parks and along the river front. (66). It is clearly a city of Chiefs, hypertrophied by specialization in detachment from its civic fellows.

Are there such things as cities of Intellectuals and of Emotionalists? Well, are not Oxford and Cambridge cities of Intellectuals, but again largely frustrate by growth in civic isolation? If we saw a city of Emotionalists how should we know it? By what features recognise it? First of all the homes of the People would be pleasant and cheerful to look at, healthy and comfortable to live in, and on all sides tokens of the gardeners' art. So far it would be very like a Garden Suburb, expressing all that placid and tender beauty which the home stands for. (67-70). Letchworth, Hampstead and many other beginnings are well started on this road. Port Sunlight, Bournville, Earwick are the creations of neotechnic chiefs co-operating with their people, and calling in aid the services of those intellectual-emotionalists, the town-planning architects. The mingled charm and prosperity of these incipient cities of the coming social order proclaim the difference which separates our neotechnic chiefs from their paleotechnic predecessors, who contributed Homesteads to the Victorian era.

In full realization the neotechnic city will shine and glitter with spires, domes and towers, expressing that passion of life which creates its own environment, and moulds it to the pattern of the ideal. Those individuals who in degree attain this, Comte called "Emotionalists." He was thinking especially of women and priests, artists and poets. It has been well said that a better, or at least a less ambiguous word, would have been "Expressionists." Now a picture has been made of all the Wren spires and steeples grouped around his masterpiece of St. Paul's. (71). Looking at this picture one cannot but say, "here is a city of the Expressionists." The great outburst of building which followed the Plague and the Fire, found its architectural genius in Wren. (72). But he, we must remember, was only first amongst a company of equals, and alongside his portrait we should place his friends and colleagues of the Oxford-London group which founded the Royal Society and thereby established the experimental sciences in this country. Wren's plan for the re-building of London (73), should be put alongside that of Evelyn, and doubtless these two were but supreme examples of many plans by many minds which the great catastrophe stirred into an energy of creative imagination.

But such outbursts of creative genius do, in point of fact, occur periodically. To discover the secret of their coming and going is perhaps the grand aim of sociology. A couple of generations before Wren and his group, we can match them in another group, certainly not less creative. Indeed, with Shakespeare, Ben Jonson and their fellows, who met at the Mermaid Tavern, we had an

ebullition of genius which transformed the life of London and even the nation. (74). But now the creative effort went, not so much to the making of churches, mansions and palaces, though many and beautiful specimens of these were built. The deeply characteristic institution of that age was the theatre. So that when we look at Mr. Godfrey's reconstruction of the Fortune Theatre (75) it reminds us that the London of those days was in a very distinct way becoming a city of Expressionals. It was an age in which everyone expressed themselves in a prose that was uncommonly like poetry. A plain seaman, in a petition to the Government asking for ships to fight the Spaniards, remarked that "the wings of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death." There spoke the spirit of the theatre that was striving to make London a city of Expressionals.

Again, think of a still earlier outburst of genius expressed in architecture. Stand in the nave of Westminster Abbey, lift up your eyes and look west along the choir (76), and you may come to know the meaning of the sacramental phrase *Sursum Corda*. Under such stimulus one may realize a little the striving of the spirit of man in its perennial labour to build a city of the ideal. From the researches of historians and archaeologists, it is possible to reconstruct the mediæval city of Westminster at its zenith in the thirteenth century. (77). It shows an artistry in colour and form such as we moderns of the chilly north have for the moment lost, but may recover (and why not surpass?) when all four civic types, all social classes, again freely co-operate in the joyous art of city design. That wonderful thirteenth century was also the time of the preaching Friars, who may be taken as type of the ever-renewing impulse called Pastoral. When the good shepherd we saw on the Welsh hills comes to town he may do so in one age as arousing evangel, in another as pioneer and idealist of co-operation and of socialism, in another as Tribune of the People. (78-80). One final example of the periodic attempt to make a city of Expressionals. (81). The Athenian Acropolis with the Temple of Jerusalem stand, of course, as the two supreme instances.

Thus the Patriarchical City, the Classical City, the Mediaeval City, the Renaissance City, even the Industrial City are all endeavours to make an environment expressive of the ideals of their time. As we see it to-day, the city is a mingling and survival of all these historic endeavours. We can portray this diagrammatically by that Arbor Sæculorum whose branchings represent the civic survivals of our social heritage. (82).

Now on the surface of things we may see nothing but confusion in the modern city. But, look for the survivals of those earlier branchings. You will soon recognise in the continuing life of this strange and wonderful Being some instinctive yet fitful endeavour

to attain a co-operation of all the civic types in one supreme achievement. To make a worthy home for the creative spirit of man; just that and nothing less is the aim of this civic co-operation. The resulting record of triumphs and failures, of marvels and lapses, of aspirations and degradations is visible on the face of every historic city. And if we ask how these People, Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals—this quadruple alliance of the ebbing and flowing civic campaign—are related to the simpler rustic types, the question is certainly difficult to answer, and awaits further research. But already there are clues and suggestions. How rustics, alike plebeian and patrician, become townsmen we have seen. What we seek to discover is how they awaken into citizenship. Well, suppose, for instance, that the known instinct of the peasant to build be a primary motive in the origin and maintenance of cities. In the German word *bauer* is crystallized this association, for it means at once peasant and builder. Now mate this constructive impulse of the peasant with the quickening idealism of the shepherd. He, as we have seen, brings into the social copartnery a veritable passion of righteousness. Assume this two-fold leadership in the things of the constructive hand and the inspiring heart; and imagine a prolonged avoidance of war. It is not difficult to conceive under these circumstances the concentration of all rustic energies needed for the colossal task of city building. As hammering makes the blacksmith's biceps, so city building makes the citizen. In such ways you may construct out of the known psychology of rustic types a hypothesis of civic origins and aspirations. It is a hypothesis of co-operation between all the rustic types under combined leadership of peasant and shepherd. Its value can be tested in interpreting many puzzles of contemporary life. It stands over against



that hypothesis already examined, of a co-operation for war under leadership of the hunter-warrior.<sup>1</sup> Grant the underlying ideas and what reading of history could be more charged with dramatic issue, what outlook on the world of politics now and in the future, more suggestive, at once menacing and hopeful? We mourn Louvain, not only because historic culture cities are few in the world, and the loss of one is a serious blow to civilization. (82a). But also because the ruins of Louvain are a reminder of what the hunter-warrior has been doing through the recorded past. And even more are they a foretaste of his deadlier devastations in the future, if the titanic forces of science are allowed to remain on his side, in the civic duel. This ever-renewing combat is the central interest of the human drama as we read it. Rustics assemble, now to build the City of God, and again lured by other impulses, these same rustics disperse, abandon the work, even destroy wantonly what their hands have built. In recurrent tragedy the City of God nears attainment, and anon the builders lapse into the service of Satan.

No single formula can cover this tragedy; but our two hypotheses help to explain it. In support of the one hypothesis we have adduced certain evidence. Towards verification of the other go back to our pictures of the Cotswold villages. Who were the architects of those splendid churches, those fine grammar schools, those stately market houses, those dignified homes? They were constructed by Cotswold masons, using the local stone and building like bees. A little further down the valley is the city of Oxford. Its famous High Street (83), also built from Cotswold stone, is manifestly but an enlarged and glorified version of the main street of the Cotswold village. It is surely manifest where lies the secret of Oxford's superb architecture. Further let us mark certain everyday facts of rustic life and labour which the textbooks of economics regard perhaps as too commonplace for mention. Shepherd and peasant live and prosper by growth and increase of flocks and herds with pasture to feed them, of crops, with barns to store the harvests. For shepherd and peasant success is therefore in terms of quantity and quality of life, as for hunter and warrior success is in terms of hecatombs of the dead, whether at covert-side battue or at Armageddon. To illustrate the latter, appeal again to the pencil of Raemaekers. (84). But dead men tell no tales. And after a successful campaign the hunter-warrior returns amid the plaudits of the multitude and adorns his capital with works of monumental magnificence. Sunning himself in the Garden of the Tuilleries, the greatest of the modern Caesars looked to the right,

1 For fuller examination of these two interpretations of history and social evolution see "The Coming Polity" (Branford and Geddes), Chapters II, III, IV, V.

and his eye feasted on his Temple of Glory (now the Madeleine); in front he contemplated the setting sun, which on his august birthday was precisely framed by his Arch of Triumph (weather permitting). (85—86). Sometimes the conquering hero falls in battle. In that case his grateful countrymen erect in his honour the column that masks a cairn. (87).

But the civic monuments of Shepherd and Peasant, what are they? They are shrines to the sanctity of life. (88). In the pastoral and the peasant community there thus naturally arise village church and city cathedral. And in their building the rustics unite and become citizens. True it is, that ecclesiastical ministrants,



THE WAY OF RECONSTRUCTION (89).

in their over-anxious care for historic forms, are apt to forget these elemental origins, at once reality and an ideal. But the foundations of their faith are in the simple rustic story of the Nativity. Mr. Mairet's sketch (89), recalls these rustic elements as vital to civic renewal, no less than to personal faith.

The effort to build a city of the ideal has perhaps in the past been more instinctive than organised. But many are the historic attempts to make it explicit and to proceed according to plan. One of the best known is More's "Utopia." He tells us, you remember, that the story was given him by a sailor friend called Hythloday. With these two naturally go More's intimate friends and frequent guests, Holbein the artist, and Erasmus the scholar. Mr. Mairet's sketch shows More, the "Chief," steering, Hythloday, man of the "People," telling his story, Holbein, the "Expressional," sketching him, and Erasmus, the wise "Intellectual," meditating in the prow. (90).



THE UTOPIAN GROUP.

The four civic types are perhaps more assumed than explicit in More's "Utopia." They are certainly explicit in other historic Utopias, such as Plato's "Republic," and Aristotle's realistic treatise called "Politics." They are present in Mr. H. G. Wells' "Modern Utopia," and in the social descriptions of Mr. Arnold Bennett. The parallelism of these is very striking when put together. (91). How deep laid must be this fourfold social classification, for it supports the fabric of our playing cards. If you think of it, "clubs" are assuredly the symbol of the People, "hearts" of the Emotionalists, "diamonds" of the Intellectuals and "spades," which is a mis-reading of the Spanish espada, a sword, stands for the Chiefs.

We have seen this social quartet differentiating in the village; segregating in the city. We have seen it crystallized in convention

and again re-forming in the plastic hands of the utopia-makers. But the artist sees its four members as the active figures of every situation that is charged with the drama of life. Governments have done well to send artists to the front, in order to show us what war is like. Look at the picture called "The Three Consolers," by M. Lucien Jonas, official painter to the military museum of the French Republic. (92). A wounded soldier lies propped on his sick-bed, perhaps his death-bed. Over him leans, on one side, a general officer, pinning to the patient's breast a medal; on the other side a priest, whispering words of comfort and consolation. In the background stands the physician waiting to resume his charge when the other two consolers leave. The situation is dramatic because it is socially complete; all the four types being present, and in characteristic rôle.




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ORGANISERS WORKERS ENERGISERS INITIATORS

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ARNOLD BENNETT

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KINETICS

ACTIVE

PASSIVE

POIETICS

ACTIVE

PASSIVE

H. G. WELLS' "Modern Utopia"

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CITIZENS LABOURERS TEACHERS PHILOSOPHERS.

Aristotle's "Politics"

---

GUARDIANS ARTISANS POETS PHILOSOPHERS

Plato's "Republic"

---

CHIEFS

PEOPLE

EMOTIONALS

INTELLECTUALS

TEMPORAL POWERS

SPIRITUAL POWERS

Comte's "Positive Philosophy" (Sociology)

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BARONS

SERFS

SECULARS

REGULARS

Feudal Society (State & Church)

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THE CIVIC TYPES.

## THE RIVALUTOPIAS.

Why this long insistence on the hard facts of social analysis? What their bearing on the rustic view of war and peace? Well, our thesis is, in a nutshell, that war and peace are rustic utopias. War is the ideal social state of the hunter; peace that of the shepherd, and even more so that of the peasant. War unites all the rustics under the hunter, not only because it appeals to deep-seated instincts, but also because it has supreme qualities. It is clear in conception and realizable in deeds of high emotional intensity. For the more complex utopia of peace—real peace, constructive and militant—profounder thought is needed to reach clarity, more skilful planning to achieve realization, and withal a whiter glow of emotion. Consciously to attain to these ends is the aim of the literary utopias. And they have this amongst other uses: they supply the acid test for each and every reforming project. Does the project tend to create a situation in which all the four civic types can join and play their characteristic parts? If not, then the reform is condemned to barrenness.

Mr. Wells, who has seen so many of his predictions come true, foretells that the making of utopias will be the social art of the future, repeating in that, the saying of Comte.<sup>1</sup> But if our rustic view of war and peace be sound, it has also been the social art of the past. The marks of the hunting utopia are some of them scattered through the countryside for all that run to read. Others are buried in the ruins of dead cities. Others can be deciphered alike in the scars and the monuments of living cities. As for the pastoral and peasant utopia, its record is discoverable in the origin, rise, and development of cities. Historians, it is true, read this record in a different sense. They attribute the triumphs of architecture to kings, emperors, potentates, and princes. But we know how to answer these historians, and moreover in a way which recognises the truth that is in their narrative. We merely classify them. We put them in their proper and natural category. They are the lineal successors to, and the contemporary manifestations of, the ancient bards who sang the glory of war and the ecstasy of battle in honour of their chiefs. Is not most current history of popular appeal a kind of national minstrelsy composed in indifferent prose by somewhat unimaginative romancists?

## RECONCILIATION.

To conclude. We may conceive the drama of social evolution as turning on the perennial struggle of the shepherd-peasant impulse and ideal against those of the hunter-warrior. The latter type, as we have seen, achieves a real attainment. He succeeds in

1. "Systematic formation of Utopias will become habitual," p. 351. General view of Positivism. Trans. Bridges (Routledge, 1/-).

making for himself, his family and his group a domestic utopia. And his political utopia of war he also realizes with periodic frequency. The drawback to his Temple of the Beautiful is that its construction is apt to leave but a kakotopia for the others, whose deprivation is hardly compensated by the glories of war and remnants of booty. Mediating between these rival utopias is the religious ideal of Personal Conversion. It springs essentially from a pastoral tradition, but one by no means confined to the shepherd. And the hunter above all, is transformed by his vision. Having seen kinship with humanity in the appealing eyes of the hunted stag, he falls on his knees in penitence; and with due sequel of prayer and discipline of good works, he may become a St. Hubert or St. Eustace. (93). There are many, to be sure, unable to scale the heights of sanctity, or even averse to trying. But for these, too, there are "moral equivalents of war," efficacious even to convert the hunter to the pastoral and peasant ideals without loss of the hunting qualities. Are not the Boy Scouts setting up the sign-posts for this road?

Any exploration, whether by Regional Survey or other method, of this vast field of war and peace, as yet but slightly touched by the scientific spirit, may fittingly end on a note of interrogation.

1. Globe—land surfaces.
2. Mediæval map of the world.
3. The ferry towns.
4. Fishing scenes.
5. Gardeners at work.
6. Ploughing.
7. Upper valley.
8. Sheep grazing.
9. Drove of sheep in the hills.
10. The good shepherd.
11. Moorland scene.
12. Snowy mountain peaks.
13. Forest scenes.
14. Mining scenes.
15. Section across England and Wales.
16. "Valley Section."
17. The rustic types.
18. Castellated mansion.
19. Modern mansion.
20. Interior of entrance hall.
21. Carved oak roof.
22. Park vistas.
23. " "
- 24-6. Garden scenes.
- 26 *a, b.* Greek statues.
27. Scene in Rotten Row.
28. Belgrave Square (circa 1830).
29. Drawing room.
30. Drawing room.
31. Town garden.
32. Picture—Charles V. in retirement.
33. The Muses.
34. Houses of Parliament.
35. Ministry.
36. London Tower (with the Mint and Trinity House in the distance).
37. Bird's-eye view of Whitehall.
38. Monuments in Westminster Abbey
- 39-42. Hunting scenes.
43. Horse Guards' Parade.
- 44-5. German conscripts (*a*) in undress in barrack yard, (*b*) doing goose-step on parade.
46. German soldiers looting.
47. Great gun firing.
48. German soldiers & gagged woman.
49. U Boat.
50. Old peasant scrutinizing tax paper.
51. Armageddon.
52. Map of invaded country, 1914.
- 53-4. Scenes in spinning & weaving factories.
55. Coal trucks at urban terminus.
56. Factory town.
57. "Homestead."
58. Village church.

59. Grammar school.
60. Four village scenes.
61. Village workers—4 scenes.
62. Squire's house, garden & library.
63. Scene at London Mansion House.
64. Lambeth—ordnance map.
65. Westminster—ordnance map.
66. River front.
- 67-70. Garden suburb views.
71. Wren's steeples.
72. Wren.
73. Wren's plan for London.
74. The Mermaid Tavern Group.
75. Shakespearian Theatre.
76. Interior—Westminster Abbey.
77. Mediaeval Westminster.
78. Preaching Friar.
79. Robert Owen.
80. Lloyd George.
81. Athenian Acropolis.
82. Arbor Sæculorum.
- 82a. Scenes in Louvain.
83. High Street of Oxford.
84. Corpses on the battlefield.
- 85-86. Arc de Triomphe & Madelaine (Paris).
87. Night-time in Trafalgar Square.
88. Van Eyck's "Adoration of the Lamb" painted for a church in Ghent, now in the Royal Gallery, Berlin.
89. Madonna & Child, with idealized city.
90. More and his friends.
91. The four civic types.
92. "The three Consolers."
93. Dürer's Vision of St. Eustace (sometimes called St. Hubert).

## THE RE-EDUCATION OF THE ADULT.

## I.

## THE NEURASTHENIC IN WAR AND PEACE.

By

ARTHUR J. BROCK, M.D., Edin., *Temp. Capt. R.A.M.C.*

DURING the War a vast number of novel observations have been made on the subject of abnormal psychology. Systematic collection of the material has naturally been chiefly carried out by members of the medical profession, but, in view of the obvious bearing which much of it has on normal mentality and consequent influence on education, it seems to me fully time that some at least of the more striking of these observations should be brought before a wider public.

It has been the writer's fortune to have been serving for the past eighteen months in a medical capacity at one of our home hospitals for officers affected with shell-shock and allied war-neuroses. In the light of the experience there gained, I shall try here to indicate certain lines along which, in my opinion, the future studies of the psychologist and sociologist might be profitably directed, as well as to mention some of the therapeutical or re-educative methods which, having actually proved successful in my experience, may be at least commended to the attention of the educationist and those devoting themselves to the general problems of reconstruction.

Each of these shell-shock hospitals can be looked on as a microcosm of the modern world, showing the salient features of our society (and especially its weaknesses) intensified, and on a narrower stage.

A principle to which I shall in this essay constantly appeal is one well established in the organic sciences, viz., that from the abnormal may be learned deepest lessons about the normal. Furthermore, experience makes it very clear that war-psychology is but an "acute" exacerbation of a more or less chronic or "sub-acute" condition, from which our society had been suffering long before the flare-up of the present war.

Let me give one or two instances of what I mean.

One comes across patients in these hospitals—young men of good upbringing and irreproachable character—who confess to being sometimes so keyed up that they are seized with a desire to "smash something," even to "kill somebody." We cannot re-

flect upon these cases without at once gaining more understanding of, and sympathy with that product of modern city life, the hooligan. If the hooligan survives this war, we shall in the future recognise that he, no more than the war-neurasthenic, is to be cured by force.

Another example of the light which the intensified psychology of war throws on that of daily life. Never before have we seen such cogent proofs of the view that feeling determines thinking—that “the wish is father to the thought.” Much of the dreams, waking and sleeping, of the neurasthenic are based upon this. Assuredly before the War we used to “shut our eyes” to things—to ugly and unpleasant facts—but never before could this process have been seen forming, as might almost now be said, the chief pre-occupation of daily life with a large body of our fellows.<sup>1</sup>

In its essence neurasthenia is a privation or relative absence of life. It presents us with a picture of life with its unity in space and time both gone—life broken up and dispersed into its constituent elements—what we may call, in fact, a *biolysis*. Thus, while in ordinary healthy life we see man utilizing and profiting by his environment, his circumstances, in neurasthenia we see him very definitely “up against” surrounding circumstance—refusing to face it. His experience of one kind of environment has been so terrific that he is inclined to evade for the future anything savouring of the “environmental” at all. To use the terms of modern psychology, it is not merely the war “constellation” or the khaki “complex” that he is wearied with; the whole battle of life in its widest and most normal sense has become—for the time at least—abhorrent to him. He is an extreme instance of the chronically fatigued person so common in our modern world—the *vaincu de la vie*.

Now, struggle and endeavour are normal conditions of life, and, when all the pleasing sophistries of modern Epicureanism have said their say, it is indisputable that man only feels his best when overcoming difficulties, when “rowing hard against the stream.” Relaxation of effort is followed by loss of self confidence and of the sense of well-being which springs therefrom.

#### DIAGNOSIS.

When the neurasthenic, therefore, ceases to make headway against his environment—or rather, shall I say? to utilize his environment—he has to find a substitute for this feeling of *bien-être* which is lost to him. And this he finds in some form of what may be broadly called a *drug*. The symptoms of a genuine neurasthenic, especially at the stage before definite improvement has

1. On Forgetting as an active process, see W. H. R. Rivers, Temp. Capt. R.A.M.C., “Freud’s Psychology of the Unconscious,” *Lancet*, June 16, 1917.

begun, are largely to be explained as attempts to compromise with life—to gain its solaces without facing its tasks; they are indications that the patient is endeavouring to shirk his *milieu*.

"Drugging" is a customary method whereby the comforts of life are obtained while the life-process itself is more or less at a standstill, if not at its ebb.

The legitimate function of sedative and stimulating drugs is to reinforce the human will when it is faced by difficulties that seem overwhelming; it is abuse of drugs to employ them in order to reinforce the will under circumstances with which it is quite capable of dealing by itself.

To my mind, therefore, the drug problem (and in this I include that of alcohol) is much more a psychological than a physiological one. I say this with full recognition of the various harmful organic changes which alcoholism and other drug addictions can produce.

Looked at from a slightly different aspect, drug-taking in neurasthenia is a form of what are called the "protective neuroses" in which the patient commutes his debt to life by payment of a more easily rendered substitute or "surrogate." Where his dreams are not merely images of fear, they tend to be of this class—for example many of his weird imaginings, his "tall tales," and his boastings. Another instance from among many is the prominent symptom known as "grousing." Undoubtedly the criticising of other people does tend to raise one relatively in one's own self-esteem, and therefore can to some extent replace the self-satisfaction normally gained by actual positive function of one's own. Similarly, in considering other people's misfortunes, we are apt to feel that things are not so bad with us after all.<sup>1</sup> Hence "to have a good grumble" is a form of self-drugging, of preserving one's self-confidence; it is a protective neurosis, which, in war-time at least, must not be too harshly judged.

An allied condition is that known as "standing on one's dignity." Those who lack self-respect and who are too lazy to (who "will not") set about gaining it in the only legitimate way (*i.e.* by self-expression) instinctively attempt to bolster themselves up by supports which do not call for effort on their part. They "delude themselves into believing" that they are people "of consequence"; they actively suppress the suggestion that they are not, but at the same time they live in a constant condition of half-dread lest the submerged truth should out. They suffer terribly if a neighbour should, either by word or look, help to unshackle the "submerged complex." Realising the danger of this happening, they tend to withdraw themselves from their neighbours and assume a position of "proud isolation" (it is this which is

1. This is the German *Schadenfreude* (lit. "scathe-gladness," Swedish *skadeglädje*; cf. "scatheless," "unscathed"; Scotch *skaith* = damage, harm).

technically known as "standing on one's dignity.") With a minimum of exertion they secure themselves (at least temporarily) a maximum of ease. While they dread the truth that would pain them, they dread more the need for functioning; they are not merely hypersensitive and thin-skinned to the last degree; they are *ergophobic*.

This matter of so-called dignity, involving as it does questions of precedence and seniority, is the curse of institutions. It seems as if the life there led tends to become dominated by the machine, and so to fall itself to a mechanical level. Compelled to routine work, the inmates are robbed of their normal means of acquiring self-respect, and so practically forced into more equivocal means of "keeping themselves cheerful."

Among current forms of drug-taking which are not generally recognised as such, may be reckoned the various ways of over-stimulating the senses (beyond the needs of function), as, for example, *in vino et venere*; by indulgence in "creature comforts" of all kinds; in "the pleasures of the table" (not only drinks, but sapid or spicy foods). Sometimes the appetite of the neurasthenic becomes a veritable *bulimia* (an "ox-hunger"). When tobacco or alcohol are given up, more sweetmeats are often consumed in their place. Sugar is probably to no small degree an alcohol-substitute.

A common form of drug-addiction is over-stimulation of the heat-sense by hot drinks, hot baths, extra clothing, over-heated rooms, and finally and characteristically, by hot bottles to the feet at night. (The term "cold feet" indeed is probably less purely metaphorical than is generally supposed; various anomalies of the circulation are quite usual in the condition of depressed vitality which is associated with chronic fear).

In the act of a normal individual functioning normally all the elements of time are involved. His present action bears relation not only to his actual circumstances, but is based on his past experience (individual and racial) and reaches forward into his future. The action of a neurasthenic does not show this equilibrium, this evenly-balanced flow. He may be for the time largely separated from his past (amnesia) or from his future (aboulia, improvidence, hopelessness). Or again, his relation to these time-elements may partake of the character of a *stammer*; that is to say, that just as a stammerer "sticks" at and over-emphasises some word or syllable, so the attention of the neurasthenic may become temporarily arrested upon some element of his past or future experience, and he develops a worry or definite *phobia*. Frequently he is driven back, as it were, upon his childhood (e.g. suffering from night-terrors, dreading the dark, calling for his mother), or he may show definitely atavistic trends; thus it is common to find reversions,

going back either to racial or personal memories and experiences.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the normal individual, the neurasthenic looks on time not as a *whole*, but as broken up, as particulate.

The failure of complete self-expression is illustrated typically by the speech-disabilities. The more or less complete *mutism* which so commonly follows shell-shock (and which ranges from slight inarticulateness, through stammering, to actual dumbness) I look upon as merely a special instance of a general condition—a defective faculty of "self-utterance." The various affections of speech tend to run into one another; moreover, along with the stammer of the tongue we not infrequently observe a distinct "mental stammer" (and what, after all, is the staggering and spastic walk of so many of these patients but a "stammer of the legs"?). The fact is that almost any and every natural function of the patients is liable to this ataxia or inco-ordination, and the far-seeing doctor will not allow the urgency of the local expression to blind him to the much more important general condition (otherwise—if he confines himself to dealing with symptoms—it will probably be as with the heads of the Hydra—"uno avulso, non deficit alter").

In practice it is rare to find a patient who is "simply pretending to be ill," who is "putting it on intentionally." A much more common case is what may be called sub-conscious malingering. Here although the patient *refuses to acknowledge it to himself*, his whole being revolts against having to go back to the horrors from which he has been released. He represses the idea that he does not want to return; but that the idea is nevertheless there, lying sub-consciously "at the back of his mind," is proved by the following fact: not till he either gets his discharge from the army, or definite promise of permanent employment at home, will his disqualifying symptoms disappear—his headaches, his "fatigability," his dreams of helplessness, his stammering tongue, his ataxic gait, his "tics" or "fugues," his general lack of cohesion.

#### TREATMENT.

As regards treatment, the interest for social psychology is that the element of *separatism* or *dissociation* will be found to underlie all the symptoms. This separatism, moreover, is not merely of the individual from his circumstances; it is a breaking-up of the individual himself—into "dual" or "multiple" personalities, as the case may be, or into mere bundles of moods and passions.

<sup>1</sup> Apropos of "genetic" explanations of the behaviour of the neurasthenic individual, I have elsewhere tried to demonstrate a similar principle in the "behaviour" of *parts* of the individual (e.g. of his body-cells in cancer, &c.). See "On Tumour-formation and Allied Pathological Processes," by A. J. Brock, *Edin. Med. Journ.*, Jan., 1913; "The Psychological Conception of Disease," *Ibid.*, Aug., 1913.

For such dissociation the treatment must obviously be a reintegration of the individual, a replacement of him in his *milieu*.

Just as the condition of war-neurasthenia is seen to be merely an intensification of phenomena abundantly witnessed in modern society, so with current theories as to its treatment. Modern social and political practice has tended increasingly to treat man as will-less and unable to help himself, and it hence goes on multiplying machinery to help him *ab extra*. But while in everyday life this way of handling things may slowly percolate a society without producing disaster, if applied to the immediate and serious problem of war-neurasthenia it will quickly prove fatal. In a neurasthenic of this class the problem is acute; he must make his choice at once, or he will go under at once. I have no hesitation in saying that, except in the very mildest grades of this disease, where a short spell of rest or change of scene leads quickly to recuperation—or, in the early stage, calling for "disciplinary" methods—the need of self-help takes precedence of every other form of therapy. And further, if the essential thing for the patient to do is to help himself, the essential thing for the doctor to do—indeed, the only thing he can profitably do—is to help him to help himself.

The various current psychological methods of dealing with the neurasthenia proper—the more or less chronic condition which follows the acute stages—resolve themselves roughly into three groups, being steps in a progressive series:—

- (1) Psychoanalysis (Freud, &c.).
- (2) Therapeutic conversations (Dubois, &c.).
- (3) Ergotherapy.

In methods belonging to the first group the mental condition is analysed; in those of the second group the patient is encouraged to look sensibly and squarely at things; while the third term may be used to indicate methods in which he is prompted to follow up his thoughts by action—by real functioning in relation to his environment.

In psycho-analysis the various stages of the disease—of the *descensus Averno*—are traced. Freud's method of worming out of the patient's subconsciousness and bringing to light suppressed wishes are reminiscent of the "obstetric" (*maeutic*) procedure of Socrates, who taught men by "bringing their thoughts to birth." Freud's original emphasis upon repression of the carnal sex-life as the chief factor in neurasthenia (*Liebe=libido*), if at least true as far as it goes, has been proved to be hopelessly inadequate.<sup>1</sup> In the psychoneuroses of war, sex in the ordinary sense of the term

1. See "Disease as the Nemesis of Reproductive Inefficiency," by A. J. Brock, M.D. ("Practitioner," September, 1912).

plays very little part; these conditions are expressions of a thwarting or stagnation of the whole life-impulse, which is undoubtedly a movement far too vast to be included under the Freudian formula, even in its latest and most "sublimated" sense.

In the majority of cases of war-neurasthenia it does not need much psychoanalysis to enable us to recognise that the outstanding causes are (1) "environmental"—due to circumstances, and (2) "organismal"—personal, individual. The main environmental cause that is keeping up the condition is the prospect, represented subjectively by a dread, partly conscious, partly subconscious, of having to go back to the front and run the risk of being blown up, buried, &c., again. The essentially personal or organismal cause is a psyche which has been so cowed by its experience of one insoluble difficulty that it is disinclined to face difficulties of almost any sort again.

The "frightfulness" of war conditions has left in the soul of the patient a state of general "fearfulness," and of this psychical state, as often as not, the particular fear is merely the letter or symptom: thus the terrible Boche who, with blood-stained visage, or with bayonet uplifted to strike, haunts the sufferer's dreams, may have been suggested by an actual occurrence, but in essence he is only a temporary incarnation of the spirit of the battlefield, and, even if specifically exorcised, will be quickly replaced, as long as the underlying "fearfulness" remains untreated. Thus the first imperative indication in treatment is that the prospect of repetition of the experience should be removed from the patient's mind. The next stage is that of re-education.

The hopelessness of the patient's outlook being removed (Prometheus<sup>1</sup> being unbound), he may begin at once to live again. In many cases, however, there is left this residual psychasthenic condition of which I have spoken—a reluctance to start functioning, an *ergophobia*, may we say?—and this demands energetic treatment.

"Therapeutic conversations" constitute the stage between analysis and re-synthesis—the point at which re-education proper begins.

But in any really severe case mere moral exhortation will be found little better than psychoanalysis. In short, ergophobia demands ergotherapy. The doctor must provide an environment for the patient to exercise his faculties upon. Ergotherapy (or better, *energitherapy*)<sup>2</sup> means, literally, the cure by functioning. Now,

1. Prometheus lit. = forethought.

2. *Ergon* in Greek means the *product* of functioning, *energeia* the functioning itself. See "Ergotherapy in Neurasthenia," by A. J. Brock, M.D., *Edin. Med. Journ.*, May, 1911, and for a further discussion of these two categories see introduction to my edition of Galen "On the Natural Faculties" (Greek text, with translation, commentary, and notes, London, Heinemann, 1916.)

function is not only work in which a man's real individuality is engaged, but it is also work done upon the realities of one's environment. Real function cannot take place *in vacuo*; the organism demands a *milieu* to work upon. (It is in these respects—that it bears relation to the essence of both organism and environment—that real functioning is distinguished from mere routine or mechanical toil).

#### SYNOPTIC SEEING.

Before, however, we can act on our environment, we must see it, we must "sense" and understand it. This is the fundamental principle of science—*to see things with our own eyes*; just as that of the art corresponding to and following upon this seeing is *to do things in our own way*.

But when we see our surroundings with our own eyes—directly, and without prejudice—we see them as the child or primitive man sees them; not in the first place through the eye of the "scientist" at all, be he geologist, botanist, zoologist or any other—but through the eyes of all of these at once. It is of the first importance that we should know our environment *as it is*, and not as something broken up into the different "sciences." Nature is one, and the science or knowledge of it is one. Geology, botany, and the rest do not exist in nature; they are merely isolated aspects of nature, convenient provisional view-points from which to regard her successively.

It is a real world in which the neurasthenic, striving to get once more to grips with life, must live and move and have his being. It is (and I say it advisedly) at his peril that he loses sight of the unity of the world about him. His vision must be, therefore, as far as possible comprehensive or *synoptic*. That is to say, if he be a devotee of science, not only must he see his own special aspect of the world about him, but he must see it also in relation to the other aspects—the other so-called special sciences.

And just as his vision, his survey of his surroundings, must be not only personal—through his own eyes—but also synoptic, so too with his next step, that of function (*i.e.*, action upon these same surroundings); this must not merely be personal—not only must he do his own work in his own way—but it must be *synergic*; that is, it must be linked work (what the Americans call team-work), done in relation to, in co-operation with, not in defiance of, the legitimate activities of his fellow men.

My own personal practice in dealing with neurasthenic patients has been to induce in each of them as far as possible this individual yet synoptic vision, this individual yet co-operative functioning. At the hospital our "environment" is the actual concrete locality round about us (we are on the outskirts of an ancient historical capital, replete with cultural and industrial resources of every kind).

Each patient is set to see his surroundings through his own eyes. At the weekly meeting of our "Field Club" he brings in his report, expounds it to those who have seen the same surroundings from a different angle, and thus the synoptic vision grows; a detailed survey of our region is being built up, to which successive series of patients each add their quota. The geologist deals with the soil, the meteorologist with the weather, the zoologist and botanist with the resulting fauna and flora of the district, and all with the multitudinous interactions of these.

But if Bergson be right, vision, whether ocular or intellectual ("I see," in both senses; *j'aperçois* and *je m'aperçois*) is but the preliminary stage of action. "Celui qui n'agit pas d'après ce qu'il pense, pense incomplètement." Having "sensed" our surroundings in our Field Club, we then at once turn round, and get to work upon them. And as all our sciences ("knowledges") were seen to be but aspects of the one knowledge (of our world), so all our activities become co-ordinated as the various Arts, all subsidiary to, and all leading up to, the supreme Art of Life (which is the normal interaction between Man and his Dwelling-place).

Attempt is made to relate each Art as far as possible to its fundamental science—thus Engineering to Mathematics and Physics, Gardening and Agriculture to Botany; we link up the study of Zoology with such practical experience among animals as is available at or near the hospital (*e.g.* poultry rearing, live-stock breeding, &c.) due regard being of course paid to the influence of other factors such as weather, soil, and the rest.

Each officer is put to work for which he shows special aptitude, provided that this work be practicable in the district. Theoretical study by itself is discouraged.

It is desirable and natural that his work (as also his preliminary seeing) should as far as possible be based on his previous experience: his work, further, should bear relation to that which he is most likely to take up in future life. Thus the different time-elements are linked up.

Each man must work individually—like an artist—and further, he must strive to relate his work to those of his fellows. (As an example: our engineering section co-operates with our farmers to consider the applications, actual and possible, of machinery to agriculture, as in regard to motor-tractors, &c.)

But man's environment is not only one of soil, of faunas and floras. He is, as Aristotle says, a social or civic animal, and can only properly fulfil himself in a social *milieu*.

The family is the natural foundation of society, and my experience of neurasthenic officers during convalescence, is that they are often greatly helped when their wives and children (if any) come and live in the neighbourhood, and the patients are allowed to

spend part of their day with them. (In treating people thus in families, the Medical Officer resumes once more to some extent his natural function of "family doctor," snatched from him temporarily by the exigencies of War).

And next to the family, come (in widening circles) neighbourhood and city. I have encouraged my officer patients to look on themselves as responsible inmates of the institution in which they are treated ("neighbourhood"). They must learn, for example, to be true *companions*—that is, *messmates* (companions meaning literally people who eat bread together—from *cum* and *panis*—and this matter of communal meals being just one of the functions which neurasthenics especially shrink from).

If each patient can be induced to constitute himself a doctor to at least one of his fellows who is in worse straits than himself, so much the better. It will "take him out of himself," and at the same time relieve immeasurably the task of the harassed M.O.

These patients tend to be very much "up against" each other, and to many the mere forcing themselves to keep the peace involves moral effort of the highest value. Mutual tolerance is the first step; but they should of course go further than this merely "negative," peacefulness, and develop a spirit of positive fraternity.

Correspondence with absent relatives and friends tends to be dropped; to maintain this should be part of the daily task which the neurasthenic imposes upon himself.

Next to family and neighbourhood in this graduated reintegration with the environment comes the City. Patients are invited to regard themselves not merely as temporary sojourners, like hotel-guests ("here to-day, and gone to-morrow") but as actual citizens of the city within whose borders our hospital stands. One characteristic and immediate outlet for the sense of civic responsibility is afforded by our Boys' Training Club, which provides from among our officers qualified teachers for the local Boy Scouts Association, as well as for classes in local Board Schools.

We are beholden to our fellow-townsmen (the permanent residents) in many ways. Apart from their generous hospitality which is always extended to us (and which is, alas! literally sometimes too much for us), we have had, in our pursuit of the Arts and Sciences, the doors of all the culture institutes opened freely to us. Thus for study we have the University classes, the libraries and museums of scientific societies; our carpenters and engineers go on from light occupations in our own hospital workshop to heavier tasks in the technical institutes of the city; our artists have the resources of the School of Art placed at their disposal; our farmers those of the College of Agriculture (at the same time that they are carrying out daily practical work on a local farm).

Among our numbers are not a few who, before the war, were

devotees, amateur or professional, of the fine arts. These officers have welcomed the opportunities to hand, in hospital and Art School, for taking up these hobbies again. I have noticed, however, a recurring tendency among some of them to use Art rather as a refuge from life than (what it ought to be) a portal to life; they are apt to retire into their studios, and, in pleasant dreams and contemplation, to give the world the go-by. Art in this way becomes itself a kind of drug, and the patient's nerves, soothed while he is at his hobby, undergo no permanent improvement.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE DIVORCE OF ART FROM LIFE.

The phenomenon mentioned is an example of the divorce between art and life. A further step in the disintegrating trend—namely, a breaking-up of the art-product itself—may be seen at almost any time in connection with the weekly dramatic performances at our hospital. Here there is an ever-recurring tendency away from unity of programme towards a mere succession of music-hall “turns.” This feature, of course, only exemplifies, although perhaps in excessive degree, the general drift of the drama in our time.

In the divorce between art-product and the real needs of social life we have an analogy to—in fact, another symptom of—the divorce between organism and environment. The further step towards fragmentation of the art-product itself repeats the breaking-up of the organism into “multiple personalities.”

A corrective to some of these non-vital (indeed, definitely deathward) tendencies is afforded by our Arts and Crafts movement, in which the help of the artists is enlisted in the production of beautiful objects of immediate and practical utility; thus we carry on such industries as rug-making, pottery-painting, wood-carving and so forth; in these the artist patient gets an opportunity of expressing his aesthetic sense, and at the same time sees the application of his art-product to the “here and now.” The ultimate idea would be to orchestrate the work of all our artists towards co-operative programmes of regional or civic scope.

In any scheme of character reconstruction such as the present one, Renunciation must of course play its part. But renunciation

1. Here probably is an indication of a general culture-tendency which will make itself more apparent as the War draws to a close. It is likely that we shall see a repetition of the Romantic Movement of a century ago, itself essentially a gesture of revolt against the brutalities of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. This “flight from the World”—this “geophobia,” shall we say?—was represented in biology and medicine during the early part of last century by the *Naturphilosophie* school of Oken and others. Here the environment was largely discounted, and all emphasis laid on the powers of the living organism itself (the “Nature” or “Physis” of Hippocrates and Galen). It cannot be too much emphasised that, however great the provisional value of these outlooks, they are nevertheless incomplete. The organism can only be understood—and treated—in its environment.

is only of value when imposed from within, "on principle," when it becomes to no small extent the equivalent of creative work, of artistic action, of true functioning. The man who refrains from taking things simply because they are not there to take, or because he is forbidden to take them, gains *ipso facto* no moral profit; if he chafes against their absence, he will actually lose morally.

The neurasthenic patient must learn to do without things. He must impose a considerable amount of stoic discipline upon himself. If he does not narrowly scrutinize his own daily acts, there is a danger that the ground gained by "ergotherapy" may be unwittingly lost again from day to day through minor self-indulgences.

As a concrete example of the kind of *stoicism à petit pied* which I recommend to many of my patients, I may mention the taking of a cold bath or swim before breakfast. The man who will *keep this up* for some weeks in the middle of winter is not likely to quail before the successive tests which will come later.

But, when all is said and done, the essential treatment of these patients resolves itself into "finding them their job"—guiding them to it, keeping them at it, and only relinquishing them finally when their interests are sufficiently awakened to ensure that they will now "carry on" of themselves.

It is perfectly clear that neurasthenic patients could be much more speedily discharged from hospital if their work could only be sooner found for them. Happily we see on every side signs that the authorities are becoming alive to this fact. These officers, when unsuited for further combatant duty or even for home service, are now being taken by other State Departments—as by the Boards of Shipping, Agriculture, Timber Supply, Munitions—and, when properly selected, they seldom fail to acquit themselves with the greatest credit.

Comprehensive schemes are now afoot for developing and utilizing the latent and hitherto almost "untapped" talents of these patients in the National Service. Believing, as I most implicitly do, that what most of them want is merely their "proper outlet," I shall be surprised if these schemes, properly handled, prove anything less than a revelation to all who are concerned with the future of our country in general, and of this great war-aftermath of neurasthenics in particular.

#### CO-OPERATION AMONG DOCTORS.

Better results will also increasingly follow an improved adjustment between the essentially complementary, although at present too often conflicting outlooks of the three schools to whom the treatment of war-neurasthenics is at present entrusted—those, namely, of the neurologist, the alienist, and (latest school of all) the social-psychologist.

Let me instance a case where more light may be hoped for from consideration of the (still somewhat novel) functional aspect.

Of course even the most hardened physiologist recognizes the existence of cases of "functional" palsy, blindness, dumbness, and so forth. Such conditions are of daily occurrence on the battle-field, and are among the chief symptoms which show themselves in any shell-shock hospital. For these maladies the average doctor, trained in the strictly "physiological" school, has little use. To him they are cases of hysteria—that is, they are imaginary diseases. He is perhaps ready to acknowledge that "they must have some organic basis," but he recognizes the irrelevancy of such considerations. Sufferers from them he is quite prepared to consign to the Christian Scientist—or the Devil.

On the other hand, we all know that definite lesions of the nervous system produce functional disorders—thus a severed nerve-trunk, a bullet or a blood-clot in one hemisphere of the brain will paralyze the parts innervated from the damaged area. And similarly with degenerations of the nervous system due to poisons such as alcohol or syphilis.

But may we not suppose that, while change of structure can and does produce functional change, the converse may also happen? Lamarck, in considering the factors of Evolution, laid emphasis on organic changes following *use* and *disuse* of parts. Is it not possible (nay, even probable) that prolonged *misuse* of certain parts of the nervous system may lead to their organic degeneration? Evidence accumulates in military hospitals that structural lesions (e.g. sclerotic changes) may be produced by prolonged misuse or abuse of the nervous system—reiterated malfunctioning—as by the propagation of turbulent and irregular nerve-impulses, themselves the result of corresponding mental perturbations.

Thus differential diagnosis in future will not necessarily, as heretofore, confine itself to the alternative, "Is this disease organic or functional?" The practical point will often be, Has the functional anomaly gone on so long that organic change has already set in? and, if so, is it yet possible, by encouraging normal functioning, or in other ways, to bring about the disappearance of the organic alterations?

In medicine, indeed, every kind of knowledge (of "science" or "gnosis," that is) should lead up to *prognosis*, for it is only on this—a recognition of the *tendency* of the process—rather than on the "present condition," the mere *diagnosis*, that a rational treatment can be based.

In pure neurasthenia the three vital categories (Environment, Organism and Function) are illustrated, aptly enough, by the typical complaints of the patient, as well as by the typical recommenda-

tions of his doctors. The whole may be tabulated somewhat as follows :—

PATIENT'S STANDPOINT.	ENVIRONMENT.	ORGANISM.	FUNCTION.
	"I cannot stand so and so." (Intolerance.)	"I feel so and so." (Hyper-trophied sensibility.)	"I cannot do so and so." (Obsession of impotence.)
DOCTOR'S STANDPOINT.	"You are ill. Take this and it will cure you." (Ordinary medical point of view; external drug.)	"There is nothing wrong with you—and you have only got to realize it." (Point of view of faith-healer or impatent M.O.)	"You are ill, and can make yourself better by your own exertions." (Point of view of neo-Lamarckian, occupation-cure, or "ergotherapy.")

#### THE PHYSICAL AND THE PSYCHIC.

We have travelled far—and the movement has been merely quickened, but was not initiated, by the war—since the historic declaration of materialist psychology, that "the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile" (Pierre Cabanis).

In agreeing, however, to disregard for the nonce the actual brain-processes (scrapping our "cerebral localization" and the rest), is there not a risk of our running to another extreme, and, if it may be so said, taking our new "purely psychical" terms too seriously? A distinct tendency shows itself among certain of our New Psychologists, as in the days of the mediaeval Schoolmen, to multiply entities "beyond necessity." Were all of these specialists agreed upon the exact reference of their terms, there would be—especially in view of the growing "regularisation" of the medical profession by the civil power—no small risk of the emergence in our days of a new sacerdotalism, with all its attendant evils. (Indeed we already see ritual of a kind in vogue among some of the super-Freudians!)

It is perhaps as well that, now as ever, in the ranks of the official healers, "while Hippocrates says Yes, Galen says No," and the world will be, temporarily at least, saved from this latest threat to its liberty by the disputations of these "doctores subtile" amongst themselves."

But we cannot live indefinitely on negatives. The honest way, of course, of avoiding the risk mentioned is to get ever behind our words and concepts to the vital realities for which they stand and whence they tend perennially to spring. We must constantly widen our "clinical experience" by keeping in active relationship with life understood in its broadest sense.

There is nowadays a very general agreement amongst psychologists (medical, social, and other) on the insufficiency of the "materialistic" view—that the body and the bodily processes are "everything." It would be just as fatal, however, to consider

mental processes with a like exclusiveness. Some of our modern "Psychotherapists" treat their patient as if he consisted of a mind alone—not infrequently as of a mind which apparently commenced its career on the occasion of a shell-explosion; possibly of one dating back as far as childhood or "early infancy"; but even when possessed of a history, still an independent "mind," *teres atque rotundus* (*mens et praeterea nihil!*)—a disembodied phantom in fact.

This is quite inadequate. Even a "purely mental case" is, after all, firstly a human being, and a human being is a person surrounded by a complex environment, preceded by a long past, not only individual but racial, and, unless he be already senile, having "all his future ahead of him."

Considerations of each of these factors is essential, if the most elementary understanding of each and every case is to be arrived at, and, unless the case is "getting better of itself" (which many, naturally enough, do, if not fussed over too much!), every one of these factors will have to have its due consideration in treatment.

Any tendency towards drawing a hard-and-fast line between phenomena which Science describes and those which come within the purview of Common Knowledge (after all, Science is but the French word for Knowledge!) must, in view of the urgent social importance of the problem, be steadily resisted by the good sense of the community.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

I have tried to put some of the claims of the shell-shock hospital as being a (provisional) laboratory of psychology and sociology. I believe that many of the observations there being collected on pathological cases should greatly help towards an understanding of normal phenomena, and that the curative experiments being made in these hospitals (though from the nature of things still tentative and inchoate) will at least warrant the careful consideration of our future educators and public men.

Life, in the form of Organism in constant active interplay with Environment, advances along the path of Evolution, gathering up ceaselessly its Past within it, and pressing forward as ceaselessly into the Future. I have tried to show that the symptoms of neurasthenia or Life-negative are largely explicable as a relative dissociation of some or all of these various elements. Their complete separation would mean death of the individual; their closer association leads ever towards a fuller life. The pathology of neurasthenia—alike in war cases and in everyday life at home—is therefore largely a halting, a "stammer," or even a reversal of the evolutionary movement, and its treatment should be in essence a fostering of that movement—in short, an Evolutionary Art.

Every system of education and of re-education, must be tested by two searching questions : Are its principles those of evolutionary science ? Are its practices those of the corresponding art of life ? In other words, is the educationist seeking to evoke in child or adult that full human cycle of which nature gives the promise, and the records of happily placed genius show the performance ? That aim sets the first and the last standard in education. Its effective adoption requires of course equivalent modifications in our social and industrial system. Above all, do the glaring evils of our great cities cry aloud to the educationist for correction, and still more clamantly for transmutation. We have seen in the war neurasthenic an obsession implanted by the frightfulness of the battlefield and the spectre of the blood-stained Boche. But are not these horrors of war the last and culminating terms in a series that begins in the infernos of our industrial cities ? Think of the mental anguish inflicted on families subjected to the struggle-for-life in these torture chambers of our competitive world during that recent phase of a " peace" which we now see to have been but latent war. Think of these strains and repressions on the subconscious life of the organism, accumulating day after day, year after year. The results of all such denial of opportunity and refusal of life are negative and positive. We see the former in those multitudes of the debilitated, whose prevalence has provoked the bitter criticism of the modern business system as " an exploitation of the dying." To describe the positive results would tax the pen of a Dante. The evils of disease, folly, vice and crime that flare forth are the instinctive reactions of the more virile organisms (alike among men, women and children) to an environment that starves them of the means for life more abundant. Thus civic transformations, and on the largest scale, are needed if we would institute an education and a re-education that are truly evolutionary. The task before us is not merely that of mending or even ending the squalid quarters, the mean streets, the tawdry public buildings of cities, metropolitan and industrial. We have to bring into full play the culture resources of our historic cities ; and for the repressive or perverted environment substitute one that invites to creative activity. Homes of simple beauty in town and country, workshops of industrial fellowship, an opulent public life, nature-contacts for town dwellers, civic contacts for rustics ; these are the social conditions of a vital education.

April, 1918.

## II.

## THE CONVALESCENT AS ARTIST-CRAFTSMAN.

By

*HENRY WILSON, President of the Arts and Crafts Society.*

At the exhibition of the work of wounded and discharged sailors and soldiers, organised by the Women's Guild of Arts, Mr. Henry Wilson gave an address, of which the gist is here printed.

If I could put into words all the bitter and the burning thoughts which this exhibition brings to mind, readers would not know whether to weep at the results of years of industrial folly or rejoice in the prospects of release and regeneration which have been opened to us through the wounds of war. Every object shewn reveals what no artist ever doubted, the fact that every human being is a potential creator, an artist, a giver of life. For more than a century these inborn creative faculties have suffered eclipse, they have been repressed under the iron régime of thoughtlessly mechanised industry until the world has almost forgotten their very existence.

A deluge of death was needed to waken us again to contact with the facts of life and rouse the nations from supine acquiescence in misery, vice, with their inseparable companion horrors, disease, disorder, and despair which follow competitive industry wherever it rages, whether in our own Black Country, in Northern France, in Poland, in Russia, in far China or Japan.

To say this is not to decry machines or machine industry, but the misuse of each. Nor in speaking of industrial misery do I forget the beneficent efforts of the creators of Port Sunlight, Bourneville, and other centres of comparative well being. But why have such places been created? Their promoters have themselves told us because it pays to house and pay the workman well. If this be true for the individual manufacturer, it is infinitely more true for the nation. Duty and interest alike call for new ideals of national life and industry. They call for such a reorganisation of production as shall make the most of every individual life by utilising the creative powers of that life to the fullest extent, and providing the widest field for their exercise.

There is no happiness like that which springs from creative activity. There can be no enduring pleasure apart from it.

Even if we clear out the slums of London and the provinces, even if we clean up the festering litter of the Black Country and the Potteries, raise wages and the standard of living, plant industrial villages all over the country, we shall not have done our duty to labour and the land if we fail to educate the creative faculties of the

workers and give them outlet in expression, not merely in useful handiwork but in dance, song and drama.

It should be remembered that industrial unrest is not merely a matter of wages, hours, management or even housing, important as all these may be. The cause lies deeper in the lack of opportunities of emotional expression before and since the rise of industrialism.

Yet the latter was not the sole cause of the decay of creative life in England. The beginnings are noted even in Holinshed's chronicle. To attempt to trace these beginnings would take too long; moreover, they are past history. The soldiers' and sailors' work in this exhibition points the way to the new order, to the new era of invention and independent craftsmanship.

The men who, without previous training even of the most elementary kind, have produced all this admirable work, have, like their forbears, been caught in the industrial mill, shut off from the very rudiments of artistic knowledge. Their bodies have been bludgeoned and battered and maimed often beyond recognition. Yet from the bed of pain they offer us this flower of beauty, which has healed them as it grew. Pain has revealed in each the artist. All the return they ask for all their suffering, for all the horrors they have endured, is to be allowed to go on living by producing work which delights us because it has delighted its makers. Absorbed in their work they lose that dreadful hospital look bred of pain and boredom which marks the faces of men not thus employed. These delightful broderies, done with a mastery of technique and a sense of colour which surprises all who see them, these little brodered landscapes that seem stitched with rainbow threads, the basketwork, the inlay, the bead and metalwork are all instinct with real creative ability, a new decorative sense, and continually surprising freshness of invention; in fact, all the essentials of the new industrial world. The men have found in handicraft tonic, anodyne and exhilarant.

But while the medical, the physical and mental benefits naturally come first, the economic benefits to men and to the country are of the highest importance. The qualities, technical and artistic, evoked under the sympathetic guidance of the Women's Guild of Arts are the qualities of the master craftsman, the basis of all industry and art.

Art is not the gift of the few, but the privilege of all in greater or less degree. It happens when work is done with delight in response to the demands of the community. The highest art and the most successful industry are alike communal. This points the way to the practical employment of the abilities revealed in this exhibition. Work centres should be established in every district either in the form of craft or industrial villages dealing with

regional industries or special work centres set up in the towns, each under the guidance of an expert artist. These might be financed at the outset, either by local or municipal aid or else by a special form of government grant. But this would only be necessary at the outset. Each enterprise should and could with expert management become self-supporting.

It is increasingly evident that the whole future of rural life depends on the revival of rural crafts and industries. Turnery, basket-making, spinning, weaving, joinery, cabinet-work, cart and waggon building, pottery, metalwork, repair shops, and a hundred other trades suggest themselves. The country needs hundreds of these small industries run by master craftsmen in order to make good the wastage of war and provide for future development. Expert opinion in France, Italy and Belgium is unanimous on this point. When shall we attain to like wisdom, we who possess in these wounded and disabled men such a wealth of creative enterprise?

### THE PRINCIPLES OF STATE-ACTION IN RE-CONSTRUCTION.

THE attitude which the majority of men will adopt towards State-action in the period of transition from war to peace will not be based upon any general theory. Some will say that we have had enough of officials and their ways, some will suspect their Government of other interests than those of law and order, and some may cry out for special assistance to trade or industry, or for privileges to be given to those who have suffered during the war. The attitude generally adopted will probably be the result of some quite unimportant phase of the transition, and will perhaps depend upon the political prestige of the government when peace is made. The State-action which results will, therefore, depend more upon accidental circumstances than general principles. General principles, however, will certainly be invoked; for there will be attempts in opposing directions, some seeking State-support and others seeking freedom from control, and both parties will invoke theories to excuse their prejudices. The present time, therefore, before such prejudices are violent, may be the best for a serious endeavour to enquire into the principles which should govern State-action after the war.

First, it may be taken for granted that Reconstruction is not a purely political, still less a purely administrative problem. The war has affected morality and art and science: and the revival or restoration of these must come from sources which are not controlled by any administration. Unless there is a revival of moral and intellectual energy, all our reconstruction will be barren and we shall have a world which may be well-organised and yet purely mechanical. We cannot afford to wait for officials to act. The world is in dire need of free individual effort in the highest human activities.

Secondly, reconstruction will depend in the main and even in the less "spiritual" sphere, on the native energy of business men and working men. Even State-assistance could not create economic vitality; and here again to wait for officials to act may be fatal. There is indeed no need to urge on those who have an adequate vitality already, and those who have not cannot be galvanised into action. But our conception of the province of the State must take into account the economic and quite unpolitical interests of manufacture and commerce and labour. The State must not on the one hand be made the slave of industries and commerce which are too weak to exist by their own strength, and on the other hand it must not control and limit the growth of industry for the sake of

established systems of administration. There is quite enough "economic" vitality, and its organisation is quite secure enough for the increasing of the supplies of food, clothing and other commodities upon which civilisation depends. The economic motive, profit or livelihood, should not be regarded as evil. It is dangerous indeed; but so is every single motive which excludes all others. Even the motive of the social reformer is dangerous if it leads his family into starvation. Reconstruction must depend in part upon the native force of the desire for profit or livelihood, in so far as this does not exclude all other considerations. Omitting, therefore, the various activities of human life which do not necessarily depend upon State-action, we turn to the province of the State: for we begin with the hypothesis that, however far-reaching the action of the State may be in the transition period, such action does not and cannot initiate in morality, art, science or trade; it can only assist. Doubtless that hypothesis implies an idea of the State which all do not accept; but, lest we be led into pure metaphysics, it will be sufficient to say that we mean by the State the apparatus of law and administration and the forces which directly support these. We do not mean to include in the conception of the State the whole of the activities and interests of any group of men.

The two immediate spheres of State-action will be demobilisation and the raising of money to pay off war-debts. The second will not generally be regarded as an immediate necessity; but unless we rapidly take off the burden of debt, future generations may find it more and more difficult to make progress against the vested interests which will arise. The raising of money will be more difficult when the memory of the sacrifices made during the war has faded; and the State should, therefore, take action as soon as peace is in sight in order that a large amount of money may be immediately available for its needs. Enormous as will be the capital sum of the war debt, yet its rapid extinction by the adoption of a bold scheme is possible. The manipulation of the loans, the levy on capital, a heavy and steeply graduated tax on large incomes, the nationalisation of "excess" profits in the transition period or of all profits on natural resources,—all these and many more suggestions indicate possible State-action. Economists familiar with finance may devise the detailed methods: but action should be prompt and perhaps immediate. The obstacles against which the public need will have to contend will be the political power of the wealthier classes, the general desire to curtail "sacrifices" or taxation and the unimaginativeness of the banking and financial clique. He will be a bold politician who will initiate State-action which may take from the purse of the present for the sake of the freedom of the future. But such State-action is, in principle, necessary.

Demobilisation is undeniably the business of the State. The State has been in danger through war; and to serve the State men and women have left their normal occupations. It lies with the State therefore to see that the replacing in normal life of soldiers and war-workers of every kind shall be such as not to injure individuals or to make society a chaos. The methods of demobilising soldiers may affect perhaps for many years the fortunes of industry and the temper of the people. If soldiers and war-workers are demobilised without regard for their feelings or for the needs of the working classes from whom they come, there may be a fatal confusion. And there is believed to be a danger that demobilisation may be carried out according to the wishes of the employers only. If soldiers are regarded as so much "labour," and treated as though such labour were a commodity for which there was a certain "demand,"—the army may demobilise itself! Here, then, is a fundamental issue. The State must demobilise: but who is to devise the programme of demobilisation? It must certainly not be in the hands of those business men for whom "labour" is an unknown hairy beast which represents only so much "cost of production"; and it must not be in the hands of those who belong to a social clique which regards itself as the "upper classes." The voice of labour itself must be effective.

There is no denying that certain men are more immediately needed than others. Coal-miners are more urgently required than hairdressers, and bricklayers than jewellers; and demobilising according to industries may be a valid method. The more subtle issue, however, should not be forgotten. The method must appeal to the public confidence and more particularly to the soldiers themselves. There must be no excuse for the suspicion that the return to peace is to be engineered for the benefit of dividends.

Of civil workers, the same holds good: they must be treated as men and women, not as a commodity to be bought by industrial magnates. The State must speak not the language of Economics, but with a human voice: the barren gospel of supply and demand must not initiate the peace. It is a first principle, therefore, of demobilisation that, whatever the order and method chosen, those who are to be demobilised should be able to make their own opinion heard, and that no group of men and women shall be treated as merely "labour power." Men must be called to the tasks of peace with at least as much appeal to their nobler enthusiasms as when they were called to the war. And they must move to the new order as free men, not as slaves at the bidding of economists, manufacturers or officials.

We may now pass to those actions of the State which will not be immediate after the war; and here we must repeat that we speak of general principles, which we may hope can be accepted by nearly

every school of political thought. There are obviously many who have no political thought at all; but these we may neglect for our present purposes, while admitting their existence and the political importance of their mental inertia.

There are four issues with which the State must deal directly, on the return of peace: the conditions of life or the environment, the economic powers of Labour, the organisation of industry and commerce, and education. We shall not deal here with the reconstitution of inter-State life, which is another sphere of necessary State-action; for we are speaking now, by abstraction, of each State as a separate political system. Only internal administration, therefore, is covered by the four issues named.

The State is very much concerned with the provision of a fit environment for its citizens: and the war has not only increased overcrowding, mal-sanitation and infant mortality, but it has added a new problem of infectious disease. After the South African War, on the return of the soldiers the percentage of deaths from disease in England increased very rapidly. There is already a considerable increase in the percentage of deaths among the civil population, and the position may possibly be serious on the return of several million men from abroad. In every country the return of soldiers to civil life will create immense problems of the same kind; and "preventive medicine" is therefore of immediate importance for the civilised world. There should be, obviously, some preparation for facing the problem, and a Ministry of Health has been proposed. But so far little seems to have been done. The public mind must be roused from its inert gazing at the episode of war in order that attention may be given to problems which all citizens will have to face. For in a matter like this official action is ineffective, unless there is a popular understanding of the dangers. We may presume, however, that the State should take action to forestall the probable increase of death and disease, which is normally the result of war.

The older problem of the conditions of life, especially in town areas, has become more acute during the war. It must, indeed, be acknowledged that inadequate wages are at the root of the trouble; but that larger issue we put aside for the present. The State must act before the industrial system can be reformed, and the provision of a suitable environment is one of the fundamental interests of all citizens. There are two immediate needs: more and better houses, and in the town areas more adequate open spaces. Infant mortality will probably be decreased by the provision of house-room and open space: although it may be dealt with as a separate problem by different measures. The provision of houses has hitherto been a matter for private speculation, and it has generally been in the hands of small builders with narrow ideas and natural

desires for an immediate return on their outlay. Those, however, who have depended for their livelihood on the building of small houses would be helped rather than hindered if the direction of enterprise were in the hands of some public authority. The same kind of need exists in agricultural areas. The conditions of life in villages and, for labourers, on farms, are such that full human development is impossible. At least 400,000 new houses are needed in Great Britain for the working classes; and if they cannot be made to "pay," the State must supply them as public authorities supply drainage or water. The conditions of life, however, are not all dependent upon housing; and the State is concerned that its citizens, men and women, should live in such surroundings that at least health and growth are possible. It may, therefore, be necessary to establish or to support light railways, motor traction in country districts, the redistribution of factories and the growth of village industries.

We pass to the consideration of the status of Labour. The principles of State-action in this matter are plain enough in theory, but very difficult to apply in practical issues. Most men will agree that the State must see to it that purely "natural" forces should not be allowed to operate in the period of reconstruction. For, suppose that we regard the labour-supply as we do the supply of cotton or coal, we may find ourselves dealing with men, women and children as though they were material things or at most "natural forces." But in speaking of the status of labour, we are thinking not of an abstract "Labour" nor even of "the working men," but of John Smith and William Brown and Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Brown and of the little Smiths and Browns, who are dependent for livelihood on the work of some of them at machines or in shops or in fields. The position and power of these must be made more equal to that of those who have inherited wealth or wealthy friends. The general principle, therefore, is not in doubt. The State must see to it that those who work with their hands are not treated simply as labour power, to be applied or to be shut off according to the convenience of other social classes. Some will cry out that this is "class-legislation," and that the State should not become an instrument for the ends of any one social or economic class. The implied theory is that the State is not already such an instrument: and that theory is false. The State already acts in such a way that the middle and wealthy classes are benefited, often to the detriment of the poor. And the classes thus benefited are so accustomed to the situation that they are unconscious of it. We argue, therefore, that it is time that State-action for the sake of other classes should be more effective.

The improvement of the status of workers with their hands is not for their benefit only; for all citizens gain from the improve-

ment of the life of each. Nor is such improvement desired by workers only. Employers of the best type are quite agreed that the old enslavement must cease. The change of sentiment must, however, take effect in State-action; and there will be disagreement as to the action which is likely to be best in humanising the position of labour. We have already spoken of the improvement of the environment or the conditions of life and work: and this will affect much. But men can be kind to slaves. They can feed and stall animals well. And the hand-workers will not, if they understand what is being done, rest satisfied with a mere change of conditions, nor will the better employers. On the other hand the complete transformation of society by State-socialism or guild syndicalism, even if it were desirable, is not possible in the immediate future; for the mind of the general public is not prepared for it, and the hand-workers themselves are undecided. We must seek then for State-action which will improve the status of labour, beyond the mere bettering of environment but without at once leading to social revolution. That such revolution is desirable we do not now either deny or assert. The position of labour can be improved by considering what are the causes of the present superiority of status possessed by other classes.

The economic position of the non-labour classes is strengthened by two facts: one is the reserve of wealth of which they have command individually and in groups, and the other is their connection with the administrative, judicial and legislative officials or representatives. For in the first place, an individual of the upper and middle classes is not compelled to begin work at the age of twelve, he is seldom deprived of the necessities of life if he is "out of work" for a period; and in their groups, called "Companies," there is shared wealth which makes it possible for individuals of the non-labour class to have a continuous income even in periods of trade depression. Secondly, the non-labour classes are socially connected with government officials; they meet and inter-marry. The judicature is almost entirely of the same social standing, and the members of Parliament are nearly all of the non-labour social clique, which absorbs and modifies the view even of those "labour" members who enter the charmed circle.

It is obviously not possible for us here to say whether the labouring classes can storm this stronghold or whether any members of that garrison may be found to welcome them in. But it is clear that the State might act in the matter, giving to Labour both security of tenure and a voice in administration: and such action would be the legitimate continuance of democratic tendencies. First, as to economic reserves, bringing security. The State might levy from every industry an amount proportionate to the number of persons employed, after the manner of the present insurance

contribution ; and this might be used to reinforce the trade-union funds for all purposes. Or a direct grant might be allowed, drawn from any source, for the support of organised labour. The purpose would be to secure a sufficient income for all the labouring class during periods of depressed trade or seasonal unemployment. It is unemployment or the possibility of it which degrades the status of John Smith and his wife and children ; and either unemployment or its economic effects must be made impossible.

Why should the State be interested in this ? First, because security of tenure or certainty of expectation is the most important element in political order. But the labouring-classes at present have no security ; they are as much influenced by the caprice or the calculation of employers as were the villagers on a mediaeval manor. State-action gives security of tenure to owners of property and inheritors of wealth : for without State-action neither property nor inheritance could exist. It is time, therefore, that State-action should give security of tenure or certainty of expectation to labour. John Smith and his wife must know that the income due to such work as they can do (their property) is secure, and that if the labour market cannot provide such work, and adequately remunerate it, the State will do so. Otherwise they have no real share in the benefits due from the State and are not really citizens.

And secondly, the State is concerned in giving security to labour because a higher level of health and physical efficiency among its citizens is important for the State. If we are to regard the labouring classes as potentially soldiers, we should see that they do not suffer from the economic results of periodic unemployment. But the State needs citizens more than soldiers : and if men were now "classed" for citizenship, we should probably find a large proportion in "C 3" or "permanently unfit." Again, the economic effects of periodic unemployment injure the children ; and even in the families in which unemployment does not actually occur, the danger is always present. Insecurity of tenure, uncertainty of expectation, is the normal atmosphere in which the majority of the inhabitants of England grow up. The situation is politically primitive, and the State must act in order that a higher level of citizenship may be attained.

As for the introduction of the labour point-of-view into the governing classes, the problem is more subtle. For how can State-action prevent the absorption into the non-labour class of representatives of Labour who are admitted to political Councils or administrative offices ? A new type of representative may have to be found. But in the meantime, there is no reason why members of the labouring classes should not be appointed to such offices as those of the Justices of the Peace. The chief Government offices should each have a permanent under-secretary, with the duty of

attending to and expressing the labour point-of-view. This would horrify the Treasury, the War Office and the Admiralty. It would empty the Foreign Office. And if we introduced a labour adviser to the King's entourage, court ladies might be annoyed. But these are not obstacles to a deliberate political reformer; and the King himself and the intelligent among the officials would probably welcome the innovation. It would remain possible that the representative of labour in the official classes would lose touch with the changing moods of those for whom he was supposed to stand. But even if the majority of such representatives were simple-minded and imitative of the class into which they had been introduced, a few stronger men and women might be found. What we must destroy is the superstition that administrative ability is not to be found among the labour classes.

We turn now to the principles which govern the action of the State with regard to industry and commerce. As the State exists for the sake of political order, it is essential to it that industry and commerce should be in a "healthy" condition. Industry and commerce are sources of the income by which the State pays for its officials and its public work generally. Their taxable capacity is therefore important, but it should not be the foremost interest of political action. On the other hand, the State should not be regarded as the servant of industry and commerce; since political administration does not exist for the sake of economic wealth. The relation of the State to economic life is not one of subordination. Business is not a department of State, and the State is not an organisation for trade. State-action must be such that (1) no group of manufacturers or merchants takes unfair advantage of others, and (2) the general public, as consumers, do not suffer for the special advantages of any group of "producers."

Quite apart, however, from the problem of the normal relations of administration and industry, there will be at the close of the war the problem of an abnormal situation. The dislocation of business by the war has to be corrected.

There are two great preliminary problems: (1) the supply and distribution of foodstuffs and raw materials, and (2) the control of shipping and transport. There will not be enough raw material and foodstuffs in the world to supply the demand. Each State has a certain amount produced by its own citizens, and imports the surplus which it needs. Obviously, therefore, the ultimate assessment and distribution of supplies is not a matter for any one State acting alone. A league of nations must deal with the problem. But each State will have to assess its own production, possibly to purchase at the source (during the transition period) and to distribute to its citizens and its industries the proportion of the world-supply which may be obtainable. Even if the situation is transi-

tional—and obviously it would be a social revolution if we did not eventually allow more freedom to merchants and manufacturers—the system which will be forced upon us by the crisis of a world-shortage will permanently affect the action of the State. Neither in war nor in peace can any State afford to allow the danger of famine or of the cessation of industry. The principle has wide application, but we shall not elaborate it here.

The control of shipping by the State during the transition period will probably be aimed at the supply of the greatest possible amount of the special materials urgently required, at rates which will not interfere with industry. In the first place not enough tonnage will be available, if we reckon on a revived demand. Not only has there been a loss of tonnage and a deterioration of the carrying power of ships during the war, but many more and faster ships than we had in 1914 could probably be used if we had them, for the supply of foodstuffs and goods in general when the restrictions of war-time are removed. A supply of tonnage which is short of the enlarged and rapidly increasing demand will lead to fantastic freight-rates and purely speculative voyages. Therefore the State, in the interest of the whole community, may have to compel the acceptance of certain fixed rates. But this will be dangerous, first, unless the rate allows a due profit on the voyage, allowing for depreciation and for the need of expanding the shipping trade. And secondly, it would be dangerous to fix rates unless the fullest use were guaranteed of all carrying power of ships and the voyages were so regulated that ships could not be transferred to other flags or to other routes in which rates were higher. It follows that it would be unfair to shipowners and ineffective for State purposes if the control of shipping were not according to principles arranged by agreement between all maritime States.

Besides the supply of materials and the control of transport the State is concerned with commerce and industry as part of the general life of its citizens. They should not be regarded as mere sources of income either to the business man or to the State itself. And although State-action cannot redeem industry and commerce from selfishness, jealousy and banality, the whole of economic life may be affected by the adoption of new moral standards. The economic structure of society as well as political organisation involves the fundamental problem of education.

We pass, therefore, to the consideration of State-action in regard to education. The system of education at present in vogue is organised by the State, as it used in former times to be organised or directed by the Church and voluntary societies. But the relation of the State to education must not be held to involve the subordination of knowledge and culture to the interests of law and administration. Education does not exist for the sake of the State;

but the State-system is one of the organisations which under due safeguards may be useful to the purposes of education. For education is the process by which the fullest human development is given to the new generation : and the new generation must become not simply citizens or members of any clique or group, but men and women. Unfortunately, however, words like "man" are so vague that they lack all content or fullness of meaning, and it may be better for education to aim at citizenship, with all its limitations, than for it to become sentimental. But this alternative is not inevitable. The State, while maintaining education chiefly for citizenship, may be the instrument for making easier the development of the artist, the scientist, the manufacturer, the merchant, the engineer, the craftsman or the handworker. These are not subdivisions of citizenship, but specialisations of the human being ; and each special development may be the channel within which a full human life is realised. Neither artist, nor scientist, nor any other "specialist" can be fully human without a co-ordinate development within himself of citizenship ; but the relation implied in citizenship is not superior to social activity of a non-political kind.

Such general principles as have been stated are not accepted by all. They must be regarded, therefore, as subjects for discussion rather than for immediate application. But they are principles which are derived not from the propaganda of a party but from the study of social development, and they are not likely to be seriously amended by those who give sustained thought to principles. With all due allowance for the little effect that any general principles have upon the opportunism and prejudices of political groups, we may believe that the spirit of the time which follows the war may be more amenable to large considerations than was the preceding period, miscalled peace.

DEUCALON.

## EMILE DURKHEIM.

The death of Emile Durkheim removes one who by general consent has been, since Spencer died, the leading sociologist of the world.

The event has a peculiarly melancholy interest for the Sociological Society. The second of two papers he promised at the inception of the society remains unwritten. The first appeared in the printed volume of the society's transactions in 1905. It was a paper dealing with "Method in the Social Sciences," and from that standpoint made a survey of the whole sociological field. The discussion of method was left to be completed in a future paper. But as the years rolled on Durkheim's busy life became more and more filled with the activities, not only of the thinker and the teacher, but also with those of the active citizen. And this further paper on Method is one of many sociological undertakings cut short by his death.

A memoir on Durkheim, and his work, will appear in the next number of the *Sociological Review*.

## RECONSTRUCTION LITERATURE IN FRANCE.

FRANCE has long been restless of her Government, and especially critical of her centralised administration. Out of a resurgent longing for decentralisation has arisen three distinct groups of regionalists. Each group represents a positive conception, respectively social-democratic, national and administrative, of the incipient regional order. Each has its acknowledged leader, and the theory of each may be studied in the form of a book. Besides these three groups there is an active body of artists and craftsmen, idealists and practitioners, who are busy investigating the art and craft renewals of regionalism. They are keen to re-establish the aesthetic individualism of towns and cities. They are associated with M. Adolph Cadet and his informative monthly newspaper "Le Petit Messager."

To the sometime leader and now indefatigable secretary of the Federation known as the F.R.F. (Fédération Regionaliste Française), we owe a book that gives a comprehensive survey of post-Revolution conceptions of regionalism. Its title is "Le Regionalisme" (Blaud et Cie), and the author, M. Charles-Brun, was certainly the person most fitted to produce a book of such encyclopaedic scope. It is to be recommended to those who desire an authoritative introduction to this whole field. Included in the book is an exhaustive list of private and parliamentary proposals for dividing France into regions. Amongst the former are those of Comte and Le Play. M. Charles Brun's own proposals appear elsewhere in a report on "La Division de la France en Regions" (Pigelet, Orleans) and in a series of illuminating articles, with map, contributed to "Notre Avenir" during April and May, 1917.

M. Charles Brun's general idea of regionalism is to vest control of local affairs in the community which is to be set free to self-determination. The royal idea in regionalism is that of decentralization modelled on a national basis. It offers a system of free regions unified by a single central authority represented by the King, such as "National Guilds" in England offers a system of local guilds unified by "The State." This idea belongs to Mr. Charles Maurras, the editor of "L'Action Française," founder of the "Ligue d'Action Française," and one of the ablest French writers and literary critics. It is explained by him in his "Enquête sur la Monarchie" (Nouvelle Librairie Nationale), which contains the author's conversation with M. André Buffet on the "Impuissance de la République à decentraliser." It is plain that M. Maurras is primarily an aesthetician pre-occupied with a box of alluring political bricks, painted in the colours of decentralization. He holds the view that France has been losing its way ever since the Revolution. The latter has had, he believes, the most durable evil results. For one thing, it has given birth to every form of government, imperial, republican, constitutional and so on, of which only the royal form has disclosed any real virtue. Thus, for example, the second and third Empire have led France into bogs of corruption, while democracy and republicanism have led it to mountains of impotence. Nowhere in either case can he find a clear and reasonable opening for his bricks of regional order. Next he asks what is then the form of monarchy that ought to replace the republic? What is the general organisation capable of replacing the democratic?" He replies squarely, the ancient monarchy. Turning from this to the author's notable "L'Etang de Berre," read in particular the chapters entitled "La Politiques Provençal" and one discovers that M. Maurras is essentially an artist, and, moreover, one who has little use for realism. What he wants is a France possessing a great power of imagination to create inspiring ideals. But what guarantee can he offer that a royal government ladder will reach so high? Has it ever done so? Has it actually ever reached more than half-way? However, M. Maurras

himself is led on by a very vivid ray of hope. No doubt it is to this factor that his influence on the mentality of a certain section of the present generation is due. That influence appears, for instance, in the unfinished book "La Politique Fédéraliste," by Henry Cellerier, written in support of the royalist ideal and containing an interesting critical examination of federalist proposals. It is dedicated to M. Maurras. In return, M. Maurras pays a graceful tribute to the esteemed disciple who, it is believed, was killed at the Front.

The Administrative conception of regionalism is a far more practical affair. As understood by M. Jean Hennessy and embodied in his book "Régions de France" (Georges Crès et Cie), it yields a central idea that turns on the administrative rights and positions of regions. It tells us that first among the contributory causes of the decay of French genius and initiative is the centralized method of Napoleon I, while first among the cures is a liberal constitution in each region, of course admitting the will and capacity to exercise it, with the extended power of a representative chamber to give it national and international effect. This looks as though M. Hennessy's idea is bound up in centralisation in spite of what it maintains to the contrary. Perhaps it is. Perhaps M. Hennessy considers centralisation essential to decentralisation—a paradox in which he encloses his wisdom that the main thing for regionalism is not to do away with centralised government but to give France a government which it can control in place of a government which controls France. Anyhow the points that stand out from his book are these:—

1. M. Hennessy is first of all a political administrator who has been converted to decentralization fruitful in national, international as well as communal results.
2. The sight of France at the last gasp of administrative suffocation led him to the pressing need of administrative reforms in its relation to decentralization.
3. Hence arose the idea of the "projet Hennessy."
4. The idea first appeared in 1911 at a conference held in France.
5. It gave birth to a live organisation, the "ligue de représentation professionnelle."
6. Thereafter it passed through the usual stages of propaganda and ultimately arrived before Parliament crystallised in the following proposal. "Proposition de loi tendant à substituer aux conscriptions administratives départementales des circonscriptions administratives régionales, à leur organisation, et à la nomination, dans chaque région, d'assemblées régionales et professionnelles."

The method of forming these regional assemblées is fully dealt with in an appendix.

The first practical outcome of this and other proposals was reached after the War began in the establishment by the Government of regional economic councils in each of the military regions into which France is divided. On the whole, then, administrative regionalism is no longer vague and nebulous, but has entered the domain of practical politics. If this new regional order is to be fully established after the War, regionalists will have obtained, thanks to M. Hennessy's untiring parliamentary efforts, something positive for which they were fighting from these economic councils.

I think the direct effect of these books and of other regionalist literature of which there is a growing accumulation in France, is that of giving the principle reconstruction movements a positive regionalist character. This means that reconstructionists are thinking regionally. Hence it is possible to examine a good deal of their writings in order of the three great departments into which regionalist thought and activity may be divided. According to this order the problems of

Place, or reorganisation of environment, come first. Then follow the problems of Work or reorganisation of productions. And then follow the problems of People or organisation of repopulation.

The value of a renewed and highly effective population takes first place in the writings of some of the foremost French thinkers. There is, for example, Professor Charles Gide, the eminent French economist, who very strongly holds the opinion that the question of repopulation is the question that comes first in the after-war reorganisation of France. Some of us knew his live pre-war brochures. We remember that in his "La France sans Enfants" he deals with the serious facts and figures of France's declining birthrate due to the "firm resolution to reduce to a minimum the number of its children," and the perseverance with which it learns and applies the means to this end. That and other papers by him prepared us for his wartime contribution to the subject, "La Reconstitution de la Population Française" which he desires to answer the two questions, "What loss of human life has France sustained? How can it be made good"? Professor Gide finds the first question difficult to answer owing to official suppression and exaggeration of figures. The answer to the second question is largely a matter of calculation based on a comparison of vital statistics drawn from different sources. This method yields some startling results. For example, the author observes that to a million of men killed at the Front must be added three million dead citizens, such being the proportion of deaths at war-time. This loss of four million is sufficient to throw France back 65 years. The fact, however, does not prevent him from considering the possible means of increasing the birth-rate and concluding on a hopeful note.

Professor Gide's article is contained in the second of two books that deal with France after the War according to the experience of a number of distinguished experts as recorded by them in lectures given during the winter of 1915-16. Also in this book, "La Réorganisation la France" (Felix Alcan) Professor Charles Seignobos expounds his own idea of the reorganisation of political life under the title of "La Politique intérieure." M. Charles Chaumet follows with "Le Développement économique." Then comes M. Legouez with an extremely important paper on "L'organisation de l'industrie après la guerre." Then M. Marcel Vacher with an equally important paper on the vital subject of "L'Agriculture après la guerre." And then M. Adolphe Dervaux adds the architectural structure resting on "Le Beau, le Vrai, et l'Utile," and so brings us to Professor Gide and his proposals for repeopling it. The first book, "Le Réparation des Dommages de guerre," forms a no less interesting symposium from which we learn a great deal about the wide variety of damages that require to be paid for and otherwise made good. Thus, for example, Professor Louis Rolland, in discussing "Les Victims de la guerre," reminds us that besides the wounded soldiers and the wounded citizens there are the wounded towns and cities to be thought of. To the regionalist who is interested in the problem of Place as it appears in domestic and international politics, there is matter for reflection in M. Auguste Schvan's "Les Bases d'une Paix Durable" (Felix Alcan). The author is an anti-statist who thinks that the War is one of the State against individuality. He himself is in favour of individualism and decentralization, and reveals the influence of Reclus and Kropotkin. I fancy the latter's "Paroles d'une révolte" has entered upon M. Schvan's scene at one time or another. In any case "Les Bases" has been much discussed in Paris, and is well worth careful study, though its remedy for stateism and internationalism is not particularly dazzling in its possibilities. While M. Schvan expresses a reaction against paralyzing state action and cocksure internationalism, "Lysis," a French progressive journalist, expresses a reaction against an equally cocksure democracy. Both in "Vers la Démocratie Nouvelle" and its sequence, "Pour Renaître" (Payot), he

exposes the impotence of political democracy which he seeks to replace with scientific democracy. Thus he shows the former to be endowed with an inertia that belongs to the boa-constrictor, at winter time. For many years it has slumbered unconscious of the vital questions of decentralisation, administrative reform, alcoholism, public hygiene, education, technical training and the rest, disporting themselves on its inanimate carcase. Now comes the War to raise new questions to condemn still further the old political democracy on the ground of neglect to foresee and prepare for their coming. By the first book then we are made aware of the ineffectiveness of political democracy and its separation from directive democratic purpose. We are led to infer that the democracy of the politicians is as dead as Marly and the door-nail, while rising from its ashes, as it were, is the democracy of the citizens. Although this looks as though civic democracy is meant the discovery of "Lysis" is really scientific industrialism for all. In the second book the author indicates the developments that await the newcomer. He assumes that scientific knowledge is a region comparatively unknown as yet—that is unknown to citizens—in which when it is explored by men in common, will be found answers to the questions which have been too much for the brain of political democracy. The condition of the birth of the new democracy is, in fact, the reconciliation of science, capital and labour.

M. Victor Boret's "La Bataille Economique de Demain" (Payot), M. Victor Cambon's "Notre Avenir" (Payot), and M. Briard D'Aunet's "Pour remettre de l'ordre dans la Maison" are three important books in which the authors discuss the possibilities of reconstructive administration in industry and commerce. The aim of M. Boret, the present Food Controller in France, is to indicate the economic struggle after the War, and he warns the French people to prepare for it. France is for the French, he observes. Do not let other nations exploit its wealth. Above all act now. Do not wait till the War is over to begin. He rests his warning on the argument that Germany in its ambition to expand universally, overflows with the milk of human unkindness. When the War ends it will begin another and more ruthless war to capture the world's trade. The only means to stop it is, he thinks, boycott. M. Victor Cambon has reached "cinema" fame. The other day I saw him filmed in Paris, and I saw a sentence announcing his book "Notre Avenir." I am not sure why he was filmed, but I fancy it was because he attacked the mandarins in their lair on the question of alcoholism, and made such a good job of it that they forbade him to expound his peculiar views in public. Hence the public wanted to have a good look at the eminent engineer. M. Cambon has collected a number of articles, which together form a spirited comparison between France and Germany, and added a preface explaining his position. His comments on the behaviour of France in running away from progress are fearless and vigorous. He sums the situation up by saying that no situation has ever served better to recall the last days of Byzantium. The body of the book is occupied with a consideration of this situation as it effects "Industrial Expansion," "Technical Education," Parliament and Economic Measures," "American and German Industries," and the rest. In the chapter "Paris after the War" he glances at Paris before the War,—the Paris of Haussmann unfinished and full of leprous spots owing to official and public indifference, and at Paris after the War—debt-ridden and depopulated Paris, which with proper attention might become the complete Haussmannised Paris, and thus the City Beautiful. And he sighs. A similar sigh of despair—a sigh indeed common to all the books under notice—produced by the perception of the pre-war decline of France as seen by politicians and economists in the tendency of pre-war France to take the line of least resistance in domestic and international affairs, is noticeable in the preface to M. Briard D'Aunet's very able volume. The preface by M. Etienne Lamy considers the softening of the fibre of vital French

interests, and suggests the kind of stiffening that is required "to put the economic house in order." Thus it considers the defects of the "House." It points out that France is greatly inferior in many ways to its competitors in trade and commerce, that the main causes of inferiority reside in alcoholism, infecundity, absence of essential collective action between Capital and Labour—the men are for themselves and so are the masters—a defective transport system which led in pre-war times to a preference for German and Dutch ports. And it suggests remedies in repopulation, trade expansion, and so on. On the whole what is required is a very big and very effective broom, seated astride of which France may mount like the old lady; to heights of social and industrial renewal undreamt of in current French politics. M. D'Aunet reveals the broom at work. That France, in spite of its backslidings, has not yet entered the Morgue may be gathered from M. Henry Dugard's "Le Maroc" (Payot), which contains full details of the very interesting developments of the colonial expansion initiated by Ferry. M. Dugard shows how this expansion may be re-established and continued after the War, in one of France's most fruitful domains. In this way the author proceeds to transform Morocco. But it should be said that he provides fare for public opinion, men of affairs, and likely colonists, and not for the geographer, historian and other scientific persons.

HUNTLY CARTER.

## THE DOCTRINE OF CIVICS.

BY THE JOINT SECRETARIES OF THE CITIES COMMITTEE.

The Cities Committee is sometimes regarded as a body concerned more with practical projects than with doctrine and theory. But that is not so. It stands for an evolutionary interpretation of civic life. It has a theoretical aim, which is to bring civics into definite relation to that doctrine of life in evolution which is perhaps the master product of modern thought. It is proposed here to set out in briefest summary this evolutionary conception of civics. The time is opportune, because the Cities Committee has recently launched an active campaign of exposition and propaganda in contribution to the theory and practice of "Reconstruction." The need for condensation compels a somewhat dogmatic form. But the following statement is to be read as an abstract rather than as an argument. Reasoned exposition and concrete illustration of the theory will be found in the joint and several writings of the two Honorary Secretaries of the Committee.

In terms not only utilitarian, but also vital, life in evolution is interpretable as an endeavour after well-being. For it is an unending effort to utilise past experience for the control of environment; and through this it ascends, both in individual and social life, enabling these more and more fully to express their inner impulses. Ranks in the scale of evolution are thus measured by the extent to which the dominant impulses towards well-being seek "spiritual" expressions, beyond self-centred economic ones; as in the love of mates, in devotion of parents to their young, their care, their training, and education. In the human species—or, as we prefer to say, more concretely, in citizen and in city (the fullest expression of human potentialities)—there is ever a threefold urge towards the spiritual expression of life; an endeavour after "the good," a pursuit of "the true," an enjoyment and even a creation, of "the beautiful." Each of the three may be thought an aim in itself; but that way lie individualisms and specialisms with all their dangers. Life proper is the chord in which all these need and find their realisation; and every civilization is a concrete endeavour, every religion a more abstract endeavour, towards the realisation of this; according to its folk and work and place; and these according to their times.

The life of cities and their regions is thus the most developed phase, the most complex expression, of the evolutionary process. The City-in-evolution crowns the summit of Life-in-evolution. Adapting a well-known Bergsonian metaphor, we may say the civic is that form of life which has most nearly escaped from the thraldom of the material tunnel through which it struggles to light, with consequent more approximate liberation of the "spirit" into self-determined activity. The history of cities will thus be written in terms of this evolutionary urge to create a home for the free spirit—the city spirit, collective and not merely individual—and this home as continuing as may be, though never an abiding one.

Civic life, including with this the whole regional life which sustains and interacts with it, being thus the supreme product of organic evolution, it follows that the City is to be considered—and this in a literal and a concrete sense—as a living being, with a life of its own, continuing with the succession of generations among its citizens. It is the human Tree of Life, of which we individuals are the leaves, and so, at our best, develop as flowers, mature as fruits, and persist, transmit, diffuse, as seed.

The City serves these, amongst other functions, in the evolution of its spiritual life. It supplements organic inheritance, by organising and transmitting the accumulated products of past experience; and these as the Heritage of Good, albeit too much also mingled with the Burden of Evil—the wheat and the tares of the parable. Thus the City effects the spiritual filiation of successive generations into the community; and this filiation and its heritage are not limited by its immediate time and space but transmitted by its language and literature, its religion, its art, and other instruments of the spiritual life. This extension of civic life is the process of Civilization, and this in its proper and literal sense.

Again, the City directs the evolution (or it may come to be the degeneration), of its spiritual life, through its selection or elimination of its activities, processes, and ideal types, through its encouragement (or discouragement), of tendencies, and correspondingly of groups, individuals, families. The modes of such civic and social selection, conscious and sub-conscious, have as yet been too little studied.

Furthermore, the City integrates the individual and social life, by the organisation of a spiritual "Consensus" (or Heritage as above), which expresses the individuality of the City, and stamps it upon each individual citizen, witness Roman, Athenian and Jew of old, or Berliner, Parisian, Londoner to-day. But it also more or less incorporates those variations from the social consensus which manifest themselves in the personalities of citizens. In terms of evolutionary tendency, "personality" may be defined at its best, as more than average capacity for appropriating the Social Heritage ("crowding the past into the present"), and so far creating a future of richer spiritual content. Thus the more and the richer are personalities among its citizens, the fuller and more varied becomes the civic life of its time, and the greater its power to direct its future, in terms of spiritual aspiration. Thus the individuality of the City and region and the personality of their citizens develop together, in congruence, for good or evil towards resultant progress or degeneration. The two constitute a duality in unity, evolving in unison.

This unity of civic and regional life is potential even more than actual. The City as a living being has as yet developed an organisation of imperfect structure, and of corresponding inadequacy of functioning. The several parts exhibit amongst themselves a degree of struggle, always hampering the life of the whole, and sometimes fatal to it. But the maladjustment is perhaps in the very nature of the case, and it may be an indication of high evolutionary latency. The higher the being in the evolutionary scale, the more there would seem to be a tendency towards delicacy of organic balance, which is easily upset, and then manifests itself as disease. Civic evolution, being psychic and collective, and so essentially spiritual, is obviously of this subtle kind, with special liability to disease accordingly. The conception of civic and social disease is recognized by sociologists; but as yet is little studied from the evolutionary standpoint. Amongst the manifestations of civic disease may, on the above interpretation, be included that ruthlessness of inter-civic struggle, which, so far, has been a more conspicuous feature of history than have the corresponding efforts towards inter-civic federation and integration, though these also have seldom, if ever, been wholly absent. Yet clearly it is the latter, not the former, which is the more "natural" process, if life in evolution be a progressive endeavour towards manifestation of spirit, and civic life the culminating expression of this evolutionary process.

The practical issue of the foregoing interpretations is clear. More deliberate attention should be paid to the adjustment of the essential civic organs to their evolutionary purposes. Thus a criticism of university and school, of church and theatre, from a more civic standpoint, is called for. With this must come the consequent re-planning of these institutions, towards more effective functioning—(a) in the promotion of the spiritual life of the citizens, with consequent increasing

unison of the whole; and (b) in the closer integration of diverse cities. And further, from the same standpoint, there arises a criticism and re-planning of the more material organs of civic life; of houses, streets, markets, factories, communications, yet now all seen in relation to their spiritual ends. Thus from the too simple "Town Planning" of engineers and architects arises the nascent art of City Design; soon now to be understood, demanded, applied, as the increasingly conscious effort of the City to control and direct its own evolution.

For such re-planning and re-designing, we need not only clear ideas of evolutionary tendencies towards those higher adjustments of life and environment which an older doctrine of life called "the perfections." We need equally clear ideas of the morbid and degeneratory trend towards what the same tradition called "original sin." Thus for the civic sociologist, no less than for the theologian, the study and treatment of evils becomes a paramount pre-occupation. Entering this field, the student of civics inherits a bewildering wealth of traditional lore. If his own survey is not yet adequately systematic, at least he perceives certain clear lines of observation. He sees, for example, the divorce of art from industry tending to a correspondingly divergent production—(a) of "works of art," which are rejected by working and business men as "useless"; and (b) economic "goods," which are rejected by artists and their circle as "ugly."

Are samples of this needed? In the ordinary household does not most of the decorative equipment meet with the first criticism? And the house itself (building and design), the clothes of the inmates, and their furniture, do not these too much require the second criticism?

Again, the severance of townspeople from nature and the rural occupations (*i.e.*, the separation of most people from the elemental realities of life and livelihood), tends to (a) an educational system that over emphasises the formal, and the merely weakly intellectual. Hence come (b) "the educated classes," so largely composed of individuals of abstract and confused mind and more or less unhealthy and ailing body; hence also (c) the habit of treating mind and body as *separate* things, *i.e.*, as ghost or phantom and as machine (or corpse) respectively; and with this (d) the rise of innumerable trades and occupations adjusted to the needs and cravings of persons impoverished mentally, starved emotionally, and enfeebled in body; for example, "ghost" literature, "occult" arts, "patent" medicines, and so on.

Again, the "paleotechnic" separation of morals from business leads to the justifiable criticism (a) of business men by moralists, that trade and industry are "sordid"; (b) of most current moral teaching, by practical men, that it is "futile."

Beyond these still relatively simple evils arise compound maladies and disharmonies. Combinations of the foregoing evils arise. Examples, if space allowed, might be presented in schematic relation to the various aspects and activities of the City. These are (a) Poverties and Unemployments; (b) Ignorances and Follies; (c) Vices and Apathies; (d) Crimes and Indolences.

The reactions of all the foregoing maladies and disharmonies on civic life are most conveniently studied on the town-plan; for this is the summarised resultant record of the long strife of good and evil. In modern towns the overcrowded houses, ugly without and dreary within; mean streets that lead from nowhere to nowhere; sordid factories, over-decorated banks, congested markets and tawdry shop-windows; noisy and devastating railways; barrack-like school buildings, with prison-like playgrounds; impoverished studios and gaudy theatres; unsightly hoardings that mendaciously advertise crude wares, for anti-hygienic or anti-social wants of mind and body. See, too, the public buildings. If ancient, these are usually beautiful externally; internally also they reflect more often the qualities of a past life, though sometimes its defects; but if modern they are too often unsuccessful, if not even

ugly externally; and internally they reflect the defects, if also some of the aspirations, of the present life. Each of these elements and aspects of city life may be inserted in its place on the Town-plan; and the whole is then interpretable not indeed as City-design, but as lack of design; for since the industrial age the town-plan has, for the most part, grown in response to haphazard activities of individuals and groups, and these too much following the promptings of the useless and the ugly, the confused and the morbid, the futile and the sordid. Hence the undeniable objective realism of the frequent comparison of the modern city to an inferno by poets—let alone social reformers. Witness Shelley's "Hell is a city much like London," Thompson's "City of Dreadful Night," and above all Verhaeren's "Les Villes Tentaculaires, Les Campagnes Hallucinées," that most terrible of modern infernos. It is told of Dante himself that when they asked him how he had seen Hell, he answered: "In the city around me." But it was left for our times, for the industrial age, with its fuller command of physical energies applied to the deterioration and depression of life, and with its loudly proclaimed detestation of all life-ideals, as "fit only for Utopia," to realise these completest infernos of humanity, to which even the destructions of the present war are but minor conflagration.

From the foregoing crowded abstract there arises some general conceptions as to that Problem of Evil which has too long been taboo to science. Of these conceptions the main are (a) particular evils, when surveyed in relation to particular aspects of civic and individual life, are seen to be associated with failure to develop those particular aspects of life, individual and civic. Hence (b) evils may be defined as defects or perversions of corresponding qualities; and hence (c) the essential source of evils is in neglect, rejection or denial of the unity of life, and thus in the defeat of the evolving harmony of the city's individuality and the citizen's personality.

It follows that in the treatment of evils the organic and social principle to be applied is an evolutionary one, that of Rejuvenescence or Renewal. The renewal of life in its unity must be sought with corresponding culture of all its aspects and phases. This implies, in relation to our essential linked couple—City and Citizen—no abstract unity, but a concrete development, in unison, as far as may be of (a) each and every individual citizen, as a personality, going through his definite phases of life-history; (b) of each city and region with its definite individuality, co-related in detail with the several aspects of its citizen's personality; (c) the congruence of (a) and (b) with the various, larger social and geographical units, national, imperial, continental, mondial, etc.

For concrete treatment of particular evils, we are therefore driven back on studies of cities and citizens and of the successively larger life-unities concerned, and of these in relation to their physical environment, and to their social heritage, their burden of evil also. Further, these new studies must not only be scientific and historical, vital and pathological; they must also be addressed to the practical issues of life-culture and to the cure and prevention of evils. Such studies must be increasingly systematised and must make use of all the preparatory resources concentrated towards the practical ends in view. They may be called Surveys for Service.

The conception of life in evolution, as the relationship of Organism, Function, and Environment (Folk, Work, Place), gives us the necessary starting-points. These are (a) environmental or geographic—the survey of our globe, region by region. The typical region is the river valley. An ideal unit for comparative survey may be distinguished in the "Valley Section." Next (b) the Historic Survey—for study of the social heritage; here the units are the successive phases of culture that "filiate" (i.e., functionally continue and unite) the series of generations. Next comes (c) the Vital Survey—a direct study of the life-units, the Citizens and the Cities. To

these three foregoing surveys there obviously needs to be added (d) a Survey of Evils—studied according to a plan congruent with that used in the previous surveys.

The foregoing is the "scientific," or logical, order of Survey. It proceeds from the simple to the complex; from the physical through organic, to social considerations. To each "City and Regional" Survey there is a corresponding "Report" or Plan of Action. But in action this logical or conventional scientific order has to be reversed. The primacy of life ordains a vital order. This begins with social and human considerations, and proceeds through organic ones (health and work), to their physical surroundings. Again the evolutionary ranking of life is in terms of spiritual expression. Hence even above mere survival, comes the need to maintain the free spiritual expression of life. The failure to recognise the primacy of this to-day is the "Prussian" fallacy, as it may be called. What above all hinders or hampers the free spiritual expression of life is the Burden of Evil, and our own additions to it. In practice then, the treatment of this—the facing and struggle with evils—comes first, as the great historic religions have all exemplified in their rituals. Hence reciprocal to the scientific order of surveys, which furnishes us but with a survey of evils—one well-nigh despairing—is the "religious" practice, which begins with the treatment of evils. Experience confirms the value of this: hence the order of practice, that for the application of our scientific surveys, is to begin with the Report, the Plan of Action, for dealing with the Burden of Evils, as it has been indicated in the corresponding Survey.

The logical order above noted has been that of "Paleotechnic" science before the war. But that of the practical or religious order is more adequately congruent with the evolutionary concept. This reversal is now being pressed upon us as the war is educating us as well as destroying the present social formation. And in this order we may best apply our city-renewing endeavours, utilising the logical sequence as subordinate and secondary. For Surveys are for Service; and we only truly learn by living. The needed "harmony of soul" is to be attained through unwearying trial and error.

On the foregoing doctrinal basis the Cities Committee is now endeavouring to build a superstructure of popular ideas and ideals about Reconstruction. A series of pamphlets entitled "Papers for the Present," are being issued by the Committee. The initial and explanatory circular is here reproduced textually as printed for announcement of a second edition of the first three "Papers."

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## NOTE.

**Papers for the Present** deal with current topics and prevailing issues.

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The Cities Committee is solely responsible, and not the Sociological Society. The latter is a body of research and other purely scientific aims. It must not therefore be identified with immediately practical projects. But an independent Cities Committee has embarked on propaganda. The principles for which it stands are briefly summarized, and the lines of action it recommends are indicated in the accompanying statement of "What to do." Of these practical suggestions, the educational and financial ones receive more detailed treatment than the others, in the ten **Papers** now under issue.

To illustrate the last three papers (Nos. 8, 9, 10) dealing directly with politics and civics, a set of lantern slides will be available for use by reading circles, clubs and societies desirous of discussing public affairs from the point of view here taken.

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## WHAT TO DO.

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OUR faith is in moral Renewal, next in Re-education, and therewith Reconstruction. For fulfilment there must be a Resorption of Government into the body of the community. How? By cultivating the habit of direct action instead of waiting upon representative agencies. Hence these social imperatives :

1.—*Cease to feel Labour personally as a "burden," or see it socially as a "problem"; practise it as a primary function of life.*

2.—*Raise the life-standard of the people and the thought-standard of schools and universities; so may the workman and his family receive due mead of real wages; the leisure of all become dignified; and for our money-economy be substituted a life-economy.*

3.—*Stimulate sympathetic understanding between all sections of the community by co-operation in local initiative; so may European statesmen be no longer driven to avoid revolution by making war.*

4.—*Let cities, towns, villages, groups, associations, work out their own regional salvation; for that they must have freedom, ideas, vision to plan, and means to carry out, (a) betterments of environment (such as housing fit for family life and land for a renewed peasantry), (b) enlargements of mental horizon (such as forelooking universities quick with local life and interests,) (c) community festivals and other enrichments of life. All these must be parts of one ever-growing Design for the coming years to realize.*

\*5.—*Make free use of the public credit for these social investments; but don't pay the tribute called "market rate of interest"; create the credit against the new social assets, charge it with an insurance rate and a redemption rate, and pay the bankers a moderate commission to administer it through their system of interlocking banks and clearing houses; the present unacknowledged use of the public credit by bankers must be recognized and regulated, and being for private profit must be subordinated to the new community uses.*

6.—*Fill the public purse from a steeply gradated income-tax (proceeds being shared by the local with the central authority); discriminate in favour of investments that improve the environment and develop the individual. Let the tax-gatherer take heavy toll of "un-earned increments," such as the "bonus" to shareholders, the appreciation of speculative securities, the rise in land values from growth of population.*

\*For details of the constructive suggestions in this paragraph, see especially "The Banker's Part in Reconstruction"; and for the implied criticism of existing finance, see especially "The Modern Midas."

7.—*Eschew the despotic habit of regimentation, whether by Governments, Trusts, Companies, tyrants, pedants or police; try the better and older way of co-ordination expanding from local centres through city, region, nation, and beyond; so may the spirit of fellowship express itself, instead of being sterilized by fear, crushed by administrative machinery or perverted by repression.*

8.—*Resist the political temptation to centralize all things in one metropolitan city; seek to renew the ancient tradition of Federation between free cities, regions, dominions.*

9.—*Encourage the linkages of labour and professional associations across international frontiers; it is these that can quicken the unity of western civilization and bring forth its fruits of concord. Further, let our imperial bureaucrats cease from their superior habit of instructing the orientals and try to learn from them.*

10.—*In general, aim at making individuals more socialized and communities more individualized. To that end, let schools subordinate books to out-door observation and handicrafts; let teachers draw the matter and the method of education from the life and tradition of their pupils' own region, as well as from the history and culture of mankind at large. Let universities seek first for synthesis in the civic life around them; and only thereafter in the pages of philosophy. Above all let governing bodies learn, if not from the Churches, at least from the psychological and social sciences, the distinction between temporal and spiritual powers, and cease to play the double rôle of Pope and Cæsar. As for the chemical and mechanical sciences let them repent of making hell-upon-earth under war-lord and money-lord, and take service in the kingdom of heaven on earth. Then may the machine industry learn from artist-craftsman and town-planner the social significance of Design in all human things, including the city itself; that way lies the guild ideal and hope of its expressing the civic spirit. Let civic designers give rustics access to the city as well as townsmen access to nature; that way lies the regional ideal; and some day men will enter through this portal into paradise regained.*

Along all these lines there is movement; but lacking in volume and unity. A crusade of Direct Action has long been afoot; but with many halts and in sparse and isolated companies. The Spirit Creative is liberated and in flight; but too timidly and on dis-severed quests. It is time for clearer understanding, closer co-operation, deeper unison between all men and women of goodwill and high endeavour. So may be prepared definitely planned campaigns for the making and maintenance of worthy homes, smiling villages, noble cities. To engage the militant energies of the race in these adventures of constructive peace and heroically to save the perennial wreckages of humanity would be the moral equivalent of war.

## REVIEWS.

## THE METHODS OF SOCIOLOGY.

PHILOSOPHIE DES SCIENCES SOCIALES.—MÉTHODE DES SCIENCES SOCIALES. By René Worms. Second edition, revised. Paris: M. Giard et E. Brière, 1918. Price, 5 francs.

THE General Secretary of the International Institute of Sociology has just published a new and revised edition of his work on sociological method—a subject he is especially competent to treat, whether we consider his clear grasp of scientific processes or his wide knowledge of the work already done in Sociology. Dividing his subject into methods *a priori* and *a posteriori*, and the latter again into processes of analysis and of synthesis, he covers the whole field in a volume of little over two hundred and fifty pages. In the first part, he treats in succession the applications of the methods of Mathematics, Physics, Biology and Psychology to social phenomena, and while neglecting no resources which these simple studies afford, he is led to the sound conclusion that the direct observation of social facts is vital. If anything, he is a little too ready to stress the analogies between Biology and Sociology. Thus, when he speaks of a society as being born, reproducing itself and disappearing in accordance with the general laws of evolution, some explanation of the meaning in which these terms are used seems necessary. Can a society be said to reproduce itself in the biological sense? Is a society subject to any process analogous to death in the natural body?<sup>1</sup> If on this point, he is too much inclined to rest on the simple science, is he not in a later part of the work too absolute and too neglectful of the actual historic developments, when he declares that there is "in man an invincible tendency to think that what has once produced a given effect, will always produce the same effect in the future"? Was not the original tendency to believe the world the sport of powerful wills, and did not the expectation of the miraculous only yield gradually to the teachings of experience?

Two general questions of a fundamental character receive due attention. The one is the relation of Theory to Observation. The author rightly warns us that "phenomena are not created to illustrate theories, but rather theories to bring about a synthesis of phenomena," but perhaps he hardly lays sufficient stress on the complementary truth that to observe phenomena to the best advantage, we need some theory to start with, a theory which will be retained, modified, or discredited as the observation proceeds. Some theory is necessary to bring order into the facts we accumulate by observation, though it is also necessary continually to revise the theory in the light of these facts. A second point of general interest relates to the vexed question of the possibility of social forecasts. Here M. Worms is excellent. In the field of a complex science, exactly the same state of things will seldom or never be reproduced. We can say that if the same conditions recur the same results will follow; but for practical purposes the statement is nugatory. We can, indeed, trace the action of a sociological law, and indicate the direction of its effect, but it will act in changing conditions and in combination with other laws. All these would have to be known and measured for the exact resultant to be foretold. Thus to take a case cited by our author, Malthus affirmed the constant tendency of population to outrun subsistence; but in France, from 1875 to 1895, the means of subsistence increased faster than population. Social causes stayed the growth of the one and the application of science to agriculture increased the yield of the other, a yield which was supplemented by further imports from abroad. But that forecasts based on one law only may be vitiated by the action of other laws is true of all

other sciences, even the simplest, and not of Sociology only. Take, for instance, the simple problem of a falling body. If the body passes into a denser medium, it will move more slowly. If it meets with an impenetrable obstacle, it will cease to fall. But it is still true that a body falling freely, if we neglect its atmospheric retardation, passes through a space proportional to the square of the time it has been descending. Only if it has been stopped or retarded at the end of the fourth second through the interposition of a new force, the prophecy of the distance it would move in the fifth second will not actually be realised.

But though owing to the difficulty of finding the direction and value of the resultant of all the social forces acting in a given situation, it is impossible to obtain the same certainty, much less the same precision as regards the future in Sociology as in the simpler sciences, M. Worms admits that some sociological laws will give useful guidance. For instance, it is important to note—as Comte showed long before Tarde whom M. Worms mentions in this connection—that discoveries must arise in a particular order which cannot be reversed. Moreover, once a new discovery has passed into the general stream of human thought, it necessarily modifies all subsequent social development, even against the will of those who dislike it. Hence the impossibility of any complete return to the Past. Mr. G. K. Chesterton, who is professedly an opponent of Sociology, really admitted the whole sociologic position in six words when he wrote: "A discovery is an incurable disease."

In treating of the two methods introduced by Le Play, the Monograph and the Survey, M. Worms urges that far from being in themselves sufficient to constitute social science, they do not solve its capital and initial problem, *i.e.*, to determine the *important* facts to which research should be directed. Far from doing this, they even tend, by accumulating masses of facts, to increase the difficulty of the problem. But our author hardly does justice to Le Play when he claims that the author of a monograph depends on the statistician to arrange his facts in the order of their importance. This may be true, but there is another consideration to be taken into account. It is only in the hands of Le Play and his followers that statistics give up their true meaning. Typical instances are the necessary complement of the statistical table: figures are no longer divorced from life. Another criticism affects the school of Le Play only in common with most other sociologists. In Biology, Richard Owen, to take a hackneyed illustration, claimed that from a single bone of an extinct bird, he could reproduce the whole skeleton. Many sociologists have cherished the hope that a similar correspondence would be found between the various organs of the social organism, so that given one institution of a society in a particular stage of development, the others could be inferred. But M. Worms has no difficulty in showing that there is no such exact correspondence. The correlation is probably seen best in those societies—neither very high nor very low in the scale—where the social organisation is marked off from others and dominated by a particular form of industry, where in fact we have the social types of Le Play strongly marked.

Some interesting points also arise in regard to the work of Auguste Comte. M. Worms blames Comte for speaking of the study of pathologic cases as a form of *experiment* possible in Sociology, whereas it is really a form of *observation*; but the discrepancy is purely verbal. Comte only treated that study as a means of supplying the practical impossibility of social experiments; he did not profess to see any logical conformity between the two processes. On the other hand, the author's explanation of the sense in which Comte rejected the word "cause," is undoubtedly correct. He only really rejected "supra-sensible" causes, and not those of which the senses could become cognisant. He put aside a word which seemed to him hopelessly involved in metaphysical connotations, but which has since been

rescued and largely rehabilitated. But the most interesting point dealt with in relation to Comte is his famous method of Historic Filiation, or as Mill preferred to call it, Inverse Deduction. This M. Worms admits to be allowable, but he hardly recognises its full meaning and scope. He somewhat confuses it with the method of direct deduction, and seems to consider it open to the same objections. But inverse deduction has all the advantages of induction with an additional verification or rather control—it is induction strengthened in order to meet the difficulties of a very complex science. In this method, there is first an induction, a generalization drawn from a study of the social facts, and then in addition and as a control, a submission of this generalization to a further test, the conformity of the development supposed with the laws of human nature and social development already known. It is, therefore, not less but more controlled by facts than is ordinary induction. For this reason, and also because it is in tracing social *development* that it can be best used, I prefer Comte's expression, "Historic Filiation," to Mill's which suggests that it is only a variation of deduction in the ordinary sense of the term.

S. H. SWINNY.

1. See "The Problem of Decadence," by Prof. W. R. Sorley (*Sociological Review*, I, 4, October 1908).

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#### THE ROMANCE OF COMMERCE.

"THE ROMANCE OF COMMERCE." By H. Gordon Selfridge. With illustrations. (John Lane, 1918.)

THE most interesting thing about this book is the reaction of the press towards it. As for the book itself, its character and quality can be briefly defined. Its title, to be truly descriptive, should have been "Tit-bits of merchant lore." The book is an illustrated collection of anecdotes, always interesting and often lively, gathered from miscellaneous sources. The anecdotes are assembled without much sense of order or sequence, and entirely without interpretation. Naturally, therefore, the Press has welcomed the book. For the Press likes anecdotes, is contemptuous of order, intolerant of sequence and abhors interpretation. But the newspapers and the periodicals have not only praised this book; the remarkable thing about their appreciation has been the quantity of it. The superficial area of all these encomiums together would make a pretty calculation in the assessment of editorial judgment on literary values.

How explain this journalistic valuation? It must not be thought that the judgment of editors has been influenced by the bias of advertising managers, anxious for their journals to stand well with an author who is also the very prince of advertisers. Such an explanation is clearly insufficient; for this volume earned panegyric, both ardent and lengthy, from journals which could have no expectation of advertisements from Oxford Street. It is evident that some interpretation of wider scope and deeper reach is needed.

The clue to the puzzle lies, doubtless, in the nature of the thing called advertisement. What in its essence is this system of publicity that flourishes so luxuriantly in public life, and even pervades the home? It would be a commonplace of psychology to define advertisement as an appeal to the will through the intellect and the emotions. The advertiser tries to persuade you to do something. Mostly the aim is to extract cash from your pocket. But by no means always. It is easy to cite exceptional instances. Recently one of the great Joint Stock Banks purchased twelve columns of the *Times* to give publicity to a speech of its chairman which was really an argument for altering the Banking Laws. Also quite recently

the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster or his representative acquired four or five columns for the insertion of a pastoral letter.

An advertiser, in simplest guise, is a person who buys a place on the public stage. But it seldom happens that the purchaser of publicity delivers his own message like the Bank chairman or the Archbishop. The custom, on the contrary, is to buy space in the newspaper or on the hoardings; and then to hire skilled talent to fill it by putting the case persuasively to the public. The pen of the writer and the pencil of the artist are, for the advertiser, instruments of his craft. In modern business there is no pretence that the argument or the picture of the advertisement are the spontaneous expression of the writer's or artist's personality. Contrast therewith the litigant who engages a lawyer to plead his case; the politician who appeals through the cartoonist or speaks through the pamphleteer; the statesman who secures a historian to compose a diplomatic document. In all these cases it is (rightly or wrongly) taken for granted that the presentation proceeds from a moral conviction of the soundness of the case. Now the advertiser is marked off from other users of advocacy by frank abandonment of this moral or spiritual factor. He has reduced advocacy to a sheer matter of business. He hires the writer or the artist as one hires a bicycle or a piano. The essence of advertisement is then, that it degrades the moral element in personality into a thing of the market. It acts rigorously on the assumption that every man has his price. The "science of advertisement" (as its practitioners call it) is, in short, the inevitable and characteristic spiritual invention of the "Financial Age." The present vogue of advertisement marks the historic climax of the Financiering System. In establishing the prevalence of this vogue, that system has fulfilled itself by creating its own Spiritual Power.

William James remarked that the intellectual leadership of the United States has been taken from the universities by the ten cent magazine. It is a common English belief that the political leadership of the British nation has passed from Parliament to Press. Both statements are currently read as an indictment. People instinctively feel that however poor and uninspired the leadership of University and Parliament, that of magazine and newspaper belongs to an altogether lower order. And why? Because behind the newspaper and the magazine they sense a dark, elusive, irresponsible power—the advertiser. This power they feel to be as sinister as it is formidable. And indeed it works by the simple and massive mode of Natural Selection. It eliminates the unfit amongst opinions, ideas, sentiments, news. The unfit is, of course, that of opinion, idea, sentiment or news which does not conduce to the survival of the advertiser and all that he stands for. How then in the nature of things should He, Supreme Patron of the Press, bestow his favours upon newspapers and magazines that do not conform to his order and way of life?

As the Great Millionaire has gathered to himself the prestige of aristocracies and even of royalties, so the Great Advertiser has subtly and imperceptibly acquired a certain mastery of public opinion. The millionaire and the advertiser are not these (if you think in terms of reality and not of illusion), the effective working heads of our social system? They are respectively the most representative types of temporal chief and spiritual guide in contemporary life. Or, to speak precisely, they were so in the years before the war. And we have by no means escaped from our thralldom to their dominance. Hence when editors make obeisance to a book whose author is at once advertiser and millionaire, there is no need to impute venal motives. They are merely prostrating themselves before their own particular Pope, who happens also to be their Caesar. This is indeed the Romance of Commerce!

V. B.

## HUMAN GEOGRAPHY.

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY IN WESTERN EUROPE. By H. J. Fleure. "The Making of the Future." (Williams and Norgate, 1918.) 5/-.

We expect anything written by Professor Fleure to have character and charm, and in saying that this volume does not disappoint us we say a great deal. "It may be said to be an early draft of an attempt to appreciate the *genius loci* of some of the human groups which have become accustomed to live and act as such in Western Europe. It tries to visualise those groups with their varied racial elements making their several contributions within each, while the group as a whole in turn makes its cumulative contribution to what may become a community of civilisation. The effort is therefore made to study human experience in each region in concrete fashion, with attention directed continuously both to man and his environment." Some portions, and these not the least important chapters, have already appeared in one form or another (one of them in the *Sociological Review*), and notwithstanding a slight lack of articulation, these chapters, good as they were individually, gain immensely when they are seen to fit into one scheme.

There are eight chapters, of which the last six deal with France, Iberia, Italy, the small peoples, Britain, and the land which Prof. Fleure hesitates to call either Germany or Central Europe. The remaining chapters are introductory, the first being mainly anthropological and the second historical. That the book is unique may be taken for granted. It is no mere geography as its title implies, but a blend of geography, anthropology, archaeology, history, architecture and philosophy, each at once accurate and illumined by imagination. It could have been written by no one else, and whets our appetite for the *magnum opus* which we are implicitly promised.

The book is dynamic, as befits one in a series dealing with "making," and not static. It is no attempt to enumerate or even estimate the facts of the present. On the one hand the author reaches forward to what the present will become, to the future, and on the other he reaches back to the past, even the long distant past, to obtain material on which to base valid forecasts, and we believe that his forecasts are all the more accurate because he takes account of factors usually omitted from consideration. Prof. Fleure is a firm believer, and in view of his scientific work he speaks with authority second to none, in the qualities of 'race.' "Many of the graded stocks between Central Europe and Northern are, and have long been, important elements, in one case among our intellectuals, and in another among our yeomen. The Aegean type, again, is characteristic as an element in the life of the west. It tends to play the part of a negotiator, an agent, a business director whenever opportunities present themselves, but it is important enough among fisher farmers on the coast." Again, in speaking of the Paris Basin, he says: "The three recognised races of Europe and other groups that are attaining the distinction of race-names all jostle one another in this basin, so that it is a place of conflicting mentalities, of sharp mutual criticism, of the laughter that kills. Bergson's suggestive essay on 'Laughter' becomes more intelligible when we realise that the subject is French laughter. He defines the laughable as *Du Méchanique plaqué sur du Vivant*. May we adjust that a little, and suggest that it is a bit from one type of mentality pitchforked into a sequence to which it does not belong, i.e., that it is often a contribution, ultimately from one race or stock in a setting belonging to another stock, a misfit that is, which is to be laughed out of existence?" His remarks on economic matters are equally valuable and illuminating, as when in noting the interest of the cities of Bavaria and Würtemberg in finer metal work, he suggests that "delicate machinery is probably a pro-

vince of activity in which natural talent of what is called the Alpine race finds special scope."

But he must not be thought to stress unduly the race factor. He gives adequate place to the influence of the past in moulding ideas. Thus of the Rhone corridor he says "it is a land of continuity, built upon gradual moderate changes through free criticism," and of Italy he says: "The age-long tradition of the city-state, however, in spite of the contrary heritage from later Imperial Rome, is a very potent factor, helping to guarantee that the Central Power shall not end by repressing individuality as it has too tragically done elsewhere."

It is evident also from these quotations that the volume, though scientific, is not merely scientific: it is written in the humane spirit. It is thus no disparagement to say that Prof. Fleure's treatment of France and to a slighter extent of the Keltic Fringe is perhaps marked by a greater sympathy and affection born of knowledge than is shown in reference to other areas. He treats French weaknesses with a gentle hand, but while excellently just and even sympathetic he cannot conceal his fierce scorn of German weaknesses, and even of Britain he quotes with a dry chuckle the phrase "which describes the British Isles as Islands off the coast of France."

Because the volume is so good we wish that in one small matter it had been less like the ordinary books. In one which is so downright and which obviously deals with realities, a touch of artificiality is added by personalising states and cities so that the real human facts are somewhat obscured. The reviewer also is probably in a very small minority in not granting what seems to be a postulate, that the city is the crown of human social organization. Much might be argued in support of the contention that the townsman is a parasite on the country, and the real problem is to evolve a social organisation in which the town dweller does not dominate the countryman and the farmer does not lag behind because of lack of opportunity.

But these are minor matters. The volume is a valuable contribution, if the powers that be would only read it, to lasting settlement and permanent advice.

J. FAIRGRIEVE.

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JANUS AND VESTA. A study of the world crisis and after. By Benchara Branford. Chatto and Windus. 1916.

MR. BENCHARA BRANFORD has produced a book which is full of illuminating ideas and unusual, sometimes even startling, juxtapositions of the old and the new. He deals with reconstruction in its deepest meanings; and he has to offer not merely programmes of action but inspiring conceptions of life. The war is viewed as a crisis through which the world is passing into a new era: but the crisis is considered in relation to the long struggle of man in achieving civilization, and not simply as an episode of modern economics. History is concentrated in the record of the great thinkers. Politics and economics are viewed as dependent upon "culture" in its widest and best sense. And we, therefore, find the problem gradually sublimated into that of the organisation of thought and erudition in the universities. But the university for Mr. Branford still bears some of its mediæval eagerness of life and intellectual energy: he is not thinking of the high school for boys or the keeping-place for commentators which is sometimes taken for a university in England. The soul and not the system is the real university: and from the earliest times, in Nineveh or in India, up to our own times in the far West of America, the tradition continues. The true knowledge is always close to the practical problems of life; and, after all, the only genuine "reconstruction" is educational. Only by illuminating practical life with that emotion and that knowledge which

has given to the universities their highest and finest activity can we redeem the world from its relapses into barbaric futility. The problem of peace, of making the world safe for democracy, is therefore a "spiritual" problem. "The dominion of dreams" is the battleground between barbarism and civilization. Among practical programmes Mr. Branford suggests a world university to "stand for" and to create the new ideal of cosmopolitan culture; and he suggests, in the sphere of domestic politics, a representation both geographical (as we now have it in parliaments) and occupational. One of the new words of value which has been coined by Mr. Branford is "Franklinism." By this he means what is contrary to Macchiavellianism in foreign policy, and in using the new word he has given precision to an idea which is gradually taking shape to-day.

The book is difficult to criticise, because what is most annoying in it at first sight turns out to be essential to the effect the author produces. He writes in recklessly disconnected paragraphs. He uses circumlocutions: and the sequence of thought is not always clear, nor is the symbolism of "Janus and Vesta" at all persuasive. But these are small matters in an otherwise stimulating book; and we may hope that the author will be persuaded to let us have in the future his promised further contribution to the solving of the problems of reconstruction.

C. D. B.

#### FRONTIERS.

*Frontiers.* By C. B. Fawcett. (Oxford Press, 1918.) 8/-.

Mr. C. B. Fawcett's little book on "Frontiers" surveys usefully, chiefly from a topographical point of view, the main types of frontiers, with many examples in each case. Frontiers in this work are considered mostly from the point of view of political states, ancient and modern, rather than with reference to the life of human societies more or less enclosed by them, but the writer sees in recent history, as do most observers, the attempt to readjust frontiers so as to make them demarcate units of human society. One wishes at times that Mr. Fawcett had expanded this aspect of his work.

He discusses sea, desert, mountain, swamp and other frontiers, and makes a strong point very rightly of the swamp barrier; his discussion of the Alps as the splendid traitor to Italy will be of value to many readers, but he should have used his opportunity to discuss Switzerland and her frontiers and to expand thence on the question of life and control of hill and mountain passes.

The chapter on River Frontiers is interesting to set beside Prof. Lyde's idealistic aspirations in "Some Frontiers of To-morrow." For Mr. Fawcett the river boundary *per se* is an unsatisfactory one, and many will agree with him; he rightly draws the distinction between the river boundary and the river-swamp boundary of course. He should continue to study the Thames from this point of view in order to get deeper into the question. The chapter on frontier marches and buffer states collects examples industriously, and suggests interesting analogies between different regions at different times, but one feels that the power and ambitions of the Mortimers are hardly allowed for sufficiently. Armenia, Burgundy, Flanders and Brandenburg come in for discussion. Armenia, with its uninhabitable centre, is treated as a buffer between Turkish and Russian, just as earlier between Roman and Persian Empires; it could also be considered, like so many other buffers, as a refuge of old civilizations from all sides, and hence a contributor, by its overflow, to the life of the lower lands on its flanks.

This mediating character of the buffer state is more strongly marked in the case of more lowland buffers like Flanders and Burgundy, with their interesting development of fine arts and critical thought. Mr. Fawcett treats Brandenburg as the

frontier state which grew so strong that it came to dominate the lands behind it. This is true in a considerable measure, but it needs supplementing. Brandenburg changed its character when the development of canal and road communications on the Prussian plain gave that plain a unity of life around Brandenburg-Berlin as the inevitable centre.

Those who wish to have in mind the characters of frontiers and to prepare their minds for the discussions which must come at the end of the war, should read Mr. Fawcett's book.

H. J. F.

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LESSONS OF THE WORLD WAR. By Augustin Hamon. Translated by Bernard Miall. With an introduction by Patrick Geddes. T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd. London: Adelphi Terrace, 1918. Price, 16/-.

THOSE who remember Augustin Hamon's book some years ago on militant psychology will look forward to the above volume of which an English translation has just appeared. A review will appear in the next number of the *Sociological Review*.



frontier state which grew so strong that it came to dominate the lands beyond. This is true in a considerable measure, but it needs supplementing. Brandenburg changed its character with the development of water and road communication. The Prussian peace gave that plain a unity of life around Brandenburg Berlin as was inevitable with time.

Those who wish to have good time-harmonies of frontier and to prepare the minds for the discussions which might come at the end of the war, should take Fawcett's book.

H. J. L.

LEARNERS IN THE WORLD WAR. By Auguste Hause. Translated by Bernhard. With an introduction by Robert Coates. P. Allen Longman Ltd. London. A 1919 European book. Price 2s.

This is a learned book. Auguste Hause, for some years an international teacher, has taught in the English universities where an English translation of her book appears. A article will appear in the next number of the *Socialist Review*.

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Two sections of this volume have appeared in the "SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW" (July and October, 1914). In the first of these the object and method are explained. An economic classification of the Simpler Societies is suggested, and a method is proposed for ascertaining whether there is any correlation between types of social institutions and stages of economic progress. Governmental and judicial institutions are dealt with in the second section, and the further portions now published are concerned with several aspects of marriage, kinship, and the positions of women; with customs of war, cannibalism, human sacrifice and infanticide; with ~~slaves~~ differentiation and slavery; and finally with property and particular forms of land tenure. Tables in which the data are collated are given, with brief notes on some of the special difficulties of tabulation.

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